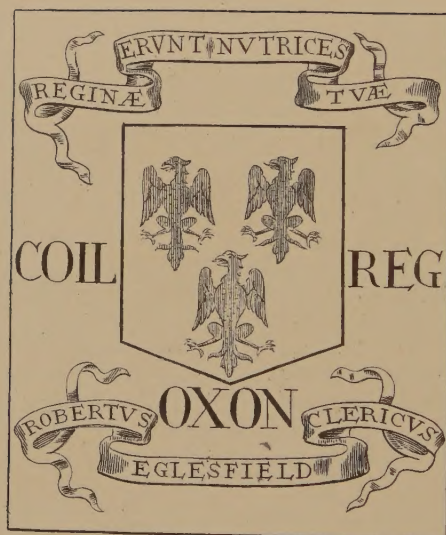






B. 6. 25

ΑΙΣΧΥΛΟΥ ΑΓΑΜΕΜΝΩΝ.

THE 'AGAMEMNON'

OF

AESCHYLUS.

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OF

AESCHYLUS

WITH AN

INTRODUCTION, COMMENTARY, AND
TRANSLATION

BY

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THIS BOOK IS OFFERED
IN TOKEN OF
FRIENDSHIP RESPECT AND WELCOME
TO

RICHARD CLAVERHOUSE JEBB, Litt.D.,

REGIUS PROFESSOR OF GREEK
IN THE UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE.

PREFACE.

THIS edition of the *Agamemnon* is the second instalment of that edition of Aeschylus which I hope to complete in course of time. The present volume has occupied me for many years, having been commenced long before my edition of the *Septem*, and frequently re-written, as I gained more knowledge of the poet.

No one competent to undertake such a work can flatter himself much upon the little that he can possibly have achieved in comparison with the desirable ideal. It is not likely that, as long as there is any spirit of progress, there will ever be a final edition of Aeschylus. Certainly we are far enough from such a consummation at present. But with all the defects which I see, and the many which doubtless I do not see, I trust that this book is not unworthy of the place in which it has been written and of the great living scholars by whose teaching and encouragement it has been inspired.

Where my version merely follows tradition, the commentary is for the most part silent or brief; and in this sense only I may say that the bulk of it is the product of my own work. But indeed I have the less hesitation in saying so, as I fear that the bulk of it is not a merit.

The English editions of Paley, Kennedy and Mr A. Sidgwick have been by me throughout; Enger's I have consulted often. Dr Wecklein's interesting and useful edition of the *Oresteia* with notes (1889) appeared when this was in the press. This

will, I hope, explain anything that may seem obscure in the relations of the two. All will know the difficulty of dealing satisfactorily with such a case. I should explain that where 'Wecklein's Appendix' is referred to on critical questions, the reference is to the edition of the text with *apparatus criticus* only (1885).

Since the appearance of my former volume Kennedy, Paley, and J. F. Davies have died, honoured and regretted, as I need scarcely say, by me as by all students of literature. To Paley in particular, whatever may have been said or thought of his defects, I shall always profess myself deeply indebted. It was easy to disagree with him and to see the weak points of his scholarship. But few men have done more for the spread of learning and literature in this country. He sent me a few days before he died a vigorous letter of adverse criticism. Most mournfully do I feel that I shall never receive another.

Beyond the editions of the play (my relations to which in general will appear from the several references) the writings most useful to me have been the editions of Sophocles by Professor Jebb (who has permitted me to express my admiration and gratitude by the dedication of this volume), the *Homeric Grammar* of Mr D. B. Monro, Provost of Oriel College, Oxford, and an excellent article on the *Agamemnon* by Mr A. E. Housman in Vol. XVI. of the *Journal of Philology*.

It is not easy to enumerate accurately the friends who have assisted me at various times by conversation and otherwise. But for particular suggestions my thanks are due to Mr R. A. Neil, who was kind enough to revise the whole of the Introduction, to Dr W. Leaf, Mr J. G. Frazer, Mr E. S. Thompson, Mr Wyse, Mr Duff, and Mr H. B. Smith. I have also taken some particular hints from Professor Mahaffy's books on the geography and customs of Greece and from a dissertation on the *Parodos* of the *Seven against Thebes* recently published by Dr Fennell. Other references will appear in their places.

Continual study strengthens my conviction on one not unimportant point in relation to Aeschylus, the substantial

integrity of the text. The greater part of what are called errors of the MS. are merely normal variations of spelling, not affecting the authority of the tradition in the slightest degree. The errors properly so called are often such that their reproduction through long periods, from the time when by their nature they must have originated, bears speaking testimony to the conservative care of those by whom the text was handed down. Although this edition adheres more closely to the MSS. than its predecessors in modern times, my revision, were I to revise it now, would tend rather to closer adhesion than the other way.

Indeed the men who preserved Aeschylus through the long night of literature were protected as much by their defects as by their merits from tampering with the words. They were scholars, as can be proved out of their own mouths, of the narrowest type. In old words, old forms, and the like they were keenly interested. For the poet they did not care. Of the *Agamemnon* the MS. Introduction speaks with a reserve barely saved from disapprobation. And no wonder; for the editors had not read the play, as literature, at all. This is the simple fact. To a reader who wished to understand a drama, as well as make notes of the words in it, no point could be so essential as the fixing and distribution of the parts. The Byzantine scholars were entirely indifferent to the matter. If a modern editor were to adopt the *dramatis personae* of the Medicean manuscript, he would justly be thought a fool. Nor were the Greek commentators unaware that their scheme was dubious; but they would not be at any trouble about a thing of so little consequence to grammar and lexicography. The corrector of the *Mediceus* assigned the speech beginning ἦκω σεβίζων (v. 270) to a certain ἄγγελος of his own invention, perceiving that in the scene which follows there was some difficulty in finding speakers for all the speeches. To this ἄγγελος, as appears from the later copies, he assigned among other things the speech γύναι, κατ' ἄνδρα (v. 363), while to Clytaemnestra he gave τάχ'

εἰσόμυσθα (*v.* 494). Now nothing is more certain than that all these speeches are spoken, as all modern editors print them, by members of the Chorus, and that at *v.* 494 Clytaemnestra is not even on the stage, and further that no one could have read the play with any consecutive attention from the beginning to this point without discovering these facts. But the Greek editor was looking for glosses, and having once ascertained the correctness of his copy (a work on which he can be proved to have spent very great pains), would not interrupt the true labour of scholarship for a question so trivial as the name of a particular speaker.

Consequently, so far as relates to the literary form and purpose of the drama, the makers of our MSS. bequeathed to their modern successors no more than the vague indication of a problem. In the Introduction our first concern will be with this problem, its nature and the material for a solution.

TRINITY COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE,

27 September, 1889.

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INTRODUCTION.

I. *The Problem.*

WHAT is the plot of the *Agamemnon*? When the dramatist began his work, what was the story which he proposed to tell, or rather—the difference of phrase is not unimportant—which he proposed to illustrate?

To one familiar only with drama produced under modern conditions, it might well seem strange that this question should be propounded at all. Surely, it might be said, this ought to be a simple matter, to be settled at the first reading. If a drama does not convey its own story, entire and unmistakable, what does it convey? So we might argue, naturally enough, from the conditions of the theatre as we know them in modern times: but so would not argue those who have given much reflexion to the theatre of Athens, and especially of Aeschylus. Every one knows, even if the full significance of the fact is not always sufficiently estimated, that the tragedians of Athens did not tell their story at all, as the telling of a story is conceived by a modern dramatist, whose audience, when the curtain goes up, know nothing which is not in the play-bill.

The story of an Athenian tragedy is never completely told; it is implied, or to repeat the expression used above, it is illustrated by a selected scene or scenes. And the further we go back the truer this is. The plays of Euripides, with their explanatory prologues, are far more complete in the statement of the facts than those of his two great predecessors; and Sophocles fills in his outline more than Aeschylus. Such was the natural result of altered circumstances, of that multiplication of literature and growth of literary education which was the chief characteristic of the fifth century. Before the close of the century the process had so rapidly advanced that literature was a

common occupation, and Athens was full of lads writing, as Aristophanes says, 'tragedies by the thousand.' On the other hand, at the commencement of the century writers were not many, and a literary public scarcely existed at all. One necessary effect of this movement, which took place chiefly in the second half of the period, was to multiply enormously the current varieties of the popular tales; until at last, as we see by the practice of Euripides, the Athenian playwright was brought, with respect to the fore-knowledge of his story by the audience, nearly to the situation of the modern playwright, and found it convenient, if not to tell the whole of it, at least to mark in outline the version of it from which he started. But the original practice, dating from the time when the legends current at one time and in the same city were still fairly harmonious, was to presuppose the story as known; and as a fact there is perhaps not one play of Aeschylus or of Sophocles which would not considerably puzzle a reader who should sit down to it, as to a drama of to-day, having very little or no information on the subject and expecting everything essential to be supplied by the author.

For a play of Aeschylus then the question, What is the story?, so far from being frivolous, is of the first importance; and so far from being necessarily easy, it is almost certain to offer some difficulties, and might very well prove unanswerable. To reconstruct stories in the exact form which prevailed at Athens in the days of Aeschylus, from the indications afforded by plays presupposing the stories, and from the indirect and ambiguous evidence of such other versions of the same legends as may be more or less perfectly preserved to us, is a task requiring the greatest care. It is not likely ever to be accomplished with all the success that might be wished, and is so far from accomplishment as yet, that in nothing which relates to the study of the poet is there left more room for improvement. We are now to enquire how the matter stands at present with regard to the story of the *Agamemnon*.

The reader who gradually becomes familiar with successive commentaries upon this play, will gradually become aware that they agree with one another in one remarkable peculiarity. As a rule, the first duty performed in the introduction to a drama is to give an accurate and straightforward account of the story. No edition known to me ventures to tell without disguise the story of the *Agamemnon*. I do not of course mean merely that the story told is not correct. This would be to assume the very point we are to discuss. I mean that the story, as it is commonly understood, is itself not told without concealment and practical misrepresentation. The reason for this will be only too

apparent, when we have supplied the omission by telling the story outright, as it was conceived by the Byzantine students of the eleventh century and is still, with whatever dissatisfaction, accepted.

Agamemnon, king of Argos, having sailed with a great armament to Troy, to avenge by the capture of the city the abduction of Helen, arranged with his queen Clytaemnestra¹, who governed at home in his absence, to transmit the news of his success, when it should be attained, by a series of beacons extending over the whole distance. At what time this arrangement was first made does not appear; but when after a war of ten years the city was taken, the beacons had been maintained, we learn, for at least a year. The chief part of the service, the transmitting of the message across the Aegæan Sea, was accomplished by beacons established on Mount Ida in the Troad, on Lemnos, on Mount Athos, and on the highest point of Euboea. Thence the news was to be signalled by comparatively short stages to Mount Arachnaeus, within a few miles of Argos and visible from the royal palace, where a watch was nightly kept for the expected news. Accordingly on the night in which Troy was captured the system was put in operation, and worked so successfully that before morning the beacon upon Arachnaeus was duly seen by the palace-watch. (At this moment the action of the play commences.) The queen, being roused, at once sends out her commands for general rejoicing, without however disclosing either the receipt of the beacon-message or the purport of it, as appears from the fact that the elders of the city², who presently arrive before the palace to make enquiries, are not only ignorant of the event announced, but are still uncertain whether the nocturnal demonstration (for the fires of sacrifice are seen blazing in all directions) is made in honour of some good intelligence or not. After some time, and just upon daybreak (*v.* 291), the queen presents herself, and the elders respectfully ask whether it is her pleasure to enlighten them further.

The queen then informs them that Troy is actually taken. After a few moments of joyful amazement, their next question is, 'When did

¹ Aeschylus knew her as Κλυταιμῆστρα *Clytaemnestra*—for I agree with those who hold that we have no reason to dispute the testimony of the Medicean MS. Such variations in nomenclature are common. But she must remain *Clytaemnestra* for us.

² I have tried throughout so to speak of these 'elders' as to avoid the not very profitable dispute, whether they are to

be regarded as councillors, a political *γερονσία*. It seems to me equally clear on the one hand that their character and behaviour would suggest such an idea to an audience imbued with Greek politics, and that on the other hand Aeschylus intentionally avoided precision on this and all points respecting the constitution of an imaginary state in the heroic times.

this happen?' 'This very night.' 'But how could the news possibly arrive so soon?' 'By a beacon-message,' replies the queen, and acquaints them with the arrangements above described, at which the elders are more astonished than ever. The queen makes some reflexions upon the appearance which Troy must present this morning after the ravages of the night, and expresses a hope that the victors will not abuse their triumph in such a way as to court divine punishment and so endanger their safe return. She then retires, leaving the elders to their thoughts.

But the stern satisfaction, which at first they feel for the punishment of the offending Trojans, soon passes away, as they consider the suffering which the war has cost and the deep discontents which it has bred; and they have already sunk again into melancholy and foreboding when the question arises—Is the news true after all? How doubtful is the interpretation of a beacon! How sanguine the imagination of an excited woman! The whole story may well prove to be a mere delusion. It will be best to wait.

They are in this frame of mind when they see approaching a herald, from whose appearance and from other visible indications (for the sun has now risen, *v.* 513) they at once perceive that he has come from the port and brings great tidings. Something grave then has really happened, and they will know in a few moments whether it is good, or what it is.

The herald—if it were possible to suppose the reader of this book absolutely ignorant of the play, I am certain that what I am now going to write would be set down by him as a manifestly absurd mistake or invention of mine—the herald enters and announces *that Agamemnon has arrived.*

But this staggering surprise is nothing to the miracles which remain. The conversation of the herald with the elders—if it can be called a conversation, in which the herald, almost beside himself with excitement and joy, speaks nearly all the time—is terminated by the brief reappearance of the queen, who bids the herald return with a message of welcome to his master. The elders beg him before he goes to satisfy them at least as to the safety of the king's brother, Menelaus. This leads him to disclose that the Greek fleet (which, be it remembered, must have traversed the whole Aegæan in a few hours at most) *encountered on the way a tremendous storm* and was thereby so completely scattered that those on Agamemnon's ship, which escaped destruction, know not even which, if any, of their companions are saved. And with this the herald departs on his errand. The elders, under the weight of

this terrible and truly inconceivable disaster, not unnaturally forget for the moment to rejoice over the return of the remnant, and are still musing sadly upon the terrible and far-reaching consequences of the war and of the offence which caused the war, when the king himself appears to receive their welcome and that of the queen.

And now, it will be supposed, some light will be thrown upon the facts. The story up to this point presents nothing but an inexplicable contradiction. But when Agamemnon and Clytaemnestra meet, all will of course in some way become clear. Nothing of the sort. Though the rejoicings shortly before commanded by Clytaemnestra are still proceeding, and the sacrifices which were to be offered in the palace in honour of the beacon-message are scarcely begun, the queen, coming forth from the unfinished ceremony, addresses to the king a long and high-flown oration, in which there is not the slightest allusion to the events of the morning, nor a word from which it could be supposed that intelligence of the triumph had preceded the king's arrival. Agamemnon, in his cold and brief reply, is equally silent on the subject. That affectionate anxiety for the queen's peace of mind, which we should naturally conjecture to have been his motive, as there is no other apparent, for maintaining such a prodigious machinery of communication and transport, has suddenly given way to a repulsive state-*liness*. He rebukes severely the pomp of his reception, and there ensues an altercation on this matter between the royal spouses, in which the queen carries her point, and conducts her husband with triumph into the palace, leaving the elders in a puzzled and apprehensive condition of mind, with which the audience must certainly sympathize.

Thus ends the first part or act of the play, which occupies, we may observe, considerably more than half of it. In the tragic scenes or, to speak more properly, in the tragedy, which now commences, the whole of this vast and enigmatic prologue, except certain incidental narratives external to the main subject of it, seems to be simply forgotten. Nothing happens which might not have happened just as easily if the king had returned unannounced, or if he had announced himself in some ordinary manner, and followed his announcement after the expected interval of time. What is dark now remains so, if we accept the received interpretation, to the end of the play. Since therefore the remarkable action of the first part has no particular bearing upon that of the second, and its value in the estimation of the dramatist must be supposed independent, it will be convenient to pause at this point and to consider what that value may be.

And surely the first and most proper reflexion is this :—Is it possible

that the story above told really represents the intention of Aeschylus? That a man, who had spent most of his life in writing plays, when he came to lay down the lines of his supreme master-piece, should encumber himself at starting with absurdities so glaring, so dangerous, and so gratuitous, as this fable exhibits in all its parts? Let us look at it for a moment from these three points of view.

And first, that the absurdities are conspicuous. If we assume, for the sake of argument, that it was indifferent to Aeschylus and the Athenian audience whether the story told was conceivable or not, we may still wonder why the poet should so labour to be false. The first part of the *Agamemnon* is constructed exactly as it would be, if designed to show the monstrosities of it in the strongest light. It is one huge contradiction. It is divided by a crisis, the entrance of the herald (*v.* 508), into two nearly equal parts, the substance of which may be summarised by the statements, (1) that from the fall of Troy to the commencement of the play is a period of two or three hours, (2) that in this interval have occurred the events of several weeks. About this there is not and cannot be any difference of opinion. It is certain, in the first place, that the action is continuous, and falls within the early hours of one morning. Language could not be clearer than that in which we are told that the herald arrives while the queen's announcement of the beacon-message is passing from lip to lip (*vv.* 481—498)¹. Even the progress of the hour from darkness to daylight is duly noted, as we have seen. But it is needless to labour the point. Had it been possible to suppose the action divided (as in the *Eumenides*²), the modern readers of the poet, who, as we shall see, are painfully conscious of the puzzle, would have marked the division long ago. And yet, on the other hand, look at the necessities of the situation, as they are thrust upon our notice by Aeschylus himself. That on the morning after the sack of Troy the weary and famished Greeks would be making the most of their comfortless repose and be in no condition to think of anything else, is obviously true. But if Aeschylus proposed to bring them that very morning to Argos, why should he insist on reminding us, just

¹ Equally explicit, according to the only rendering which seems to me entertainable, is the queen's language at *v.* 1040.

² The example of the *Eumenides* is indeed sometimes cited, as if it explained and justified what would otherwise be surprising in the construction of the

Agamemnon. There is no resemblance between them. The *Eumenides* is simply divided, like a play of Shakespeare, into three perfectly distinct scenes, confessedly separated by gaps of time and changes of place. If the *Agamemnon* were similarly divisible, there would be nothing peculiar about it.

before their appearance, that they must at this very moment be in Troy, hundreds of miles across the sea, taking their hard-won meal and looking forward to enjoy next night their first unbroken sleep (*v.* 342)? And the very next speech informs us that they are already returned to Argos! Even a happy carelessness might have been expected not to give itself the lie with so much art. Again, the size and general geography of the Archipelago were facts as familiar to an Athenian as those of the Atlantic or the Channel to a modern Englishman, indeed much more so; and he could scarcely, however willing, have imagined them other than they were. But if Aeschylus desired to present a story in which these facts were to be ignored, why should he aggravate his difficulties by prompting the imagination of the audience with a picture of the reality? The conversation between Clytaemnestra and the elders respecting the beacons signifies to us at any rate this, that a voyage over the region described was likely to take some time. A narrator who wished us, for the sake of his story, to suppose that someone had ridden from London to York in an hour, would scarcely begin by reminding us that it takes five hours to go by train.

Then look again at the other side of the picture. To what purpose, in any case, the poet introduced the herald, with his vivid description of the hardships suffered by the Hellenic army and of the awful tempest in which the greater part of it was finally lost, or what is the significance of these narratives to the story, is at present not too clear, as may be seen by reference to the books of authority. But nothing short of a contradiction in terms could be more grossly inconsistent with the preceding scene. If Aeschylus wished to obliterate, by an arbitrary fiction, the interval of time between the fall of Troy and the return of the Greeks, why does he *not* obliterate it? Why narrate the voyage and show that it was not rapid but disastrous? that it was not accomplished in one hour, nor in one day either? that after the capture, and before the return was even commenced, a considerable time was spent at Troy itself in the elaborate destruction of the city, the distribution of the spoil and captives, and other proceedings related or touched upon by the herald and the king? Of these indeed the audience were previously informed by many familiar narratives, but in the design attributed to Aeschylus they might at least have been left in all possible obscurity. Who could listen to the herald's description of the storm, following as it does close upon Clytaemnestra's account of the beacons, and not ask himself in bewilderment at what time all this is supposed to have happened?

This discrepancy of times, not lightly neglected by the poet but

studiously obtruded, would, if it stood alone, make the first part of the *Agamemnon* a confounding problem. But it is combined with another mass of difficulty, less prominent perhaps to the eyes of us moderns, but at Athens and in the time of Aeschylus equally fatal to that temporary and conventional belief without which the imagination is helpless. The story of the beacons is in one sense a fine story; that is to say, it is told in fine verse, and the actual description, how the fiery signal was sped, is unsurpassed or unrivalled in its own style of eloquence. But for all that the story is in its whole conception and all its incidents incredible, and it is impossible that a popular audience in ancient Athens can ever have thought otherwise.

In the first place, looking at the matter generally, it is permissible, when we reflect that the *Agamemnon* was written by a grave man of long experience in peace and war, and to satisfy an audience which contained perhaps more men personally familiar with the conduct of great affairs than ever assembled elsewhere—it is permissible, I say, to wonder, that so much should be made of a transaction which, for any relation it has to life, is more worthy of an inventive schoolboy. Here is a great monarch, conducting a distant war of uncertain duration. He establishes between his camp and his capital a system of communication on a grand scale, far larger than anything of the kind actually existing, when Aeschylus wrote, in the Greek world¹. For what purpose? Naturally, we suppose, to aid his plans. Not at all. At the close of the war, as the ignorance of the elders requires us to suppose, no message had ever been sent, and no message but one was expected. The beacons were maintained and watched night after night, simply that, if and when Troy should fall, this news, expected for ten years, might have a chance, if the weather were favourable, to reach Argos some weeks or some days sooner than it would do in any case. And as if this notion were not puerile enough, the natural facts are distorted so as to exaggerate the absurdity to the utmost. For in the result it seems to be by the merest accident that the beacon-message arrives before the king. But for the storm he would doubtless have got home first.

Again, if we admit the beacons as a conceivable scheme, what are we to say of the useless and impossible mystery with which they are surrounded? The Athenians were to suppose, that for a year at least there had been maintained on a hill close to Argos, night after night, a

¹ The generals of Persia were supposed to have projected something similar, though more practicable, at the time of their marvellous expedition (Herod. 9, 3).

It does not appear how far they succeeded, but it is not unlikely that their plan suggested the idea of Aeschylus.

watch forming part of a system of communication with the absent army, and that all this while, so strictly had the secret been kept, the elders of the city had not the least notion of it, nor had ever dreamed of such a thing as possible !

But these general objections, though serious enough, are nothing to the grotesque and wilful violations of nature which appear in the details. It is here that the modern reader most easily deceives himself, forgetting the local and contemporary point of view. No one disputes indeed, so far as I am aware, that the story told by Clytaemnestra is impossible ; but most of those who write on the play ignore the subject so far as they can¹ : and hardly any one considers how the matter would look to an Athenian of the Marathonian generation. Yet place and time are the essential conditions.

Men are the willing slaves of imagination ; and the inventor who frankly transcends our range of experience may with moderate skill carry us wherever he pleases. But so long as he purports to keep within our experience, the ablest inventor has but a strictly limited power. Not Shakespeare himself could have made the Londoners content to suppose that a Spanish ship lying at the Nore had fired upon an English ship lying at the Tower. They simply could not suppose it. Yet this is the sort of fiction which the Athenians, a people singularly severe in their criticism of the imagination, are supposed to have accepted without demur, and honoured with their highest reward. The description of the beacons (*v.* 293) is curiously complete and careful. Every stage is marked and named beyond possibility of mistake. The first three stages are, as above said, from Mount Ida to the island of Lemnos, from Lemnos to Athos, from Athos to the highest point of Euboea. The distances are for the first two stages about sixty miles, for the third stage nearly a hundred miles. It is needless to prove that beacons at these intervals would be useless, useless under any circumstances, and although we should not throw in, as Aeschylus would appear to do, the special facility of a tremendous storm, raging in the very region of the longest transit. Let it be supposed (and it is an outside supposition) that in the atmosphere of the Mediterranean, on a night perfectly clear, a bonfire one hundred miles away might be made out with certainty. What would be the use of a signal, intended to operate at some unknown time in the course of the year, if it were so arranged as to be defeated by the slightest haze at any point in a trajet of one hundred miles? Did then the Athenian

¹ Not however all ; see Paley.

audience not know these distances and their relation to the visibility of a beacon? How could they possibly fail to know the facts, and to have such a vivid consciousness of them as could not for an instant be put by? Euboea, the terminus of the most prodigious leap, was geographically and politically almost part of Attica itself. Athos, the starting-point of the leap, lay right in the eye of Athenian policy and trade, always specially directed to the north and north-west of the Aegæan. The people were essentially a people of seamen. When the *Agamemnon* was produced they had been engaged for twenty years in a struggle for the naval dominion of those very seas, a struggle upon which depended most of their wealth and all their national importance. They were familiar with beacons in peace and in war, and used them, as of course everywhere else, in Euboea, to signal to Skiathos, a distance of some twelve miles¹. The statement that a beacon-signal was transmitted in the midst of a storm from Athos to Euboea stood to the knowledge and habits of Athens then in much the same relation as the statement that a steamer ran across the Atlantic in one day would stand to the knowledge and habits of Liverpool now.

And here again, as in the matter of time, the story is not merely absurd in fact, but wilfully and as it were purposely absurd. If the geographical facts were to the poet perfectly indifferent, why is he at such pains to be precise? Nothing would have been easier or more natural, in a mere exercise of the imagination, than to leave the details in some obscurity, to start the signals upon a more or less practicable route, and then to fetch the matter off with generalities. But Aeschylus leaves not a loop-hole; and when he comes to the most miraculous part of the story (*v.* 298) he is careful to give our incredulity a jog.

But if the defects of the fable are glaring (and on this enough seems to have been said) they are also extremely dangerous. What is the real opinion of modern critics on this point, the critics themselves show by a testimony more telling than any direct condemnation, by ignoring and, as far as possible, concealing the facts. No one, as I have already said, ventures to tell, as it is received, the story of the play. As an example I purposely choose (for the criticism is in no way personal) a book to which I am much indebted, the edition of Mr Sidgwick. 'The action of the play in details,' says Mr Sidgwick in his Introduction, 'is as follows:—

Agamemnon has been absent for ten years at Troy. Meanwhile his wife Klytaemnestra has been ruling Argos in conjunction with her lover Aegisthos.

¹ Herod. 7, 182.

The news of the capture of Troy is daily expected, and the play opens with the appearance of the night-watchman on the roof, waiting (as he has been for a year past) for the beacon fire which is to announce the victory. While the watchman is complaining of his trouble, the flame flashes out, and he goes to tell his mistress (Prologue). The chorus enter and sing: meanwhile the queen comes out and is seen lighting the altar fires and preparing for a festal display in honour of the event. The leader of the chorus learns from her the tidings, and after describing the beacon-race, she imagines the scene in Troy and expresses a hope 'that all will end well (Scene I). *After another choric song* the Herald appears, who describes first the sufferings before Troy, and finally the storm which scattered the fleet; the queen sends by him *a welcome to her lord* (Scene 2). *In Scene 3 Agamemnon returns with Cassandra etc.*'

Now could it possibly occur to any one upon reading this—more especially if he happened to know that Aeschylus, like a modern dramatist, did not limit his plots to any special period of time—but with or without this information could any one suspect from the above, that all these events are represented as occurring within a few hours? Should we not assume, and is it not indeed tacitly implied, that the action of the *Agamemnon*, like that of its continuation, the *Eumenides*, is divided; and that the necessary lapse of time between these 'scenes' is either expressly noticed, as in the *Eumenides*, or left open to our imagination? But is this what the editor means? On the contrary, long afterwards in the course of the notes we come upon the following, '504. Observe that the herald arrives from Troy, announcing the landing of Agamemnon, immediately after the beacon fires, on the morning after the capture. Such violations of possibility were held quite allowable by the license of dramatic poetry.' This last statement shall be considered presently. But first let us ask why, if this violation of possibility is so simple and so common, it should not be exhibited in the commentary with the same frankness as in the play? Why is 'the action of the play in details' so described as to suppress a feature which we are to observe, and why is the like device adopted, as it is, by one writer after another? It is prompted by the instinct of self-preservation. The expositor, loyally identifying himself with the author, feels that, whatever he may say about dramatic license, the reader will as a fact be repelled at starting by the wanton perversity of the fiction; and he screens it accordingly. How is it that no similar apprehension occurred to the dramatist?

For as to the statement that on the Athenian stage 'such violations of possibility were held quite allowable,' I must take leave to say that it is not only without evidence, but altogether contrary to the evidence. There is no example 'such' or approximately such; and the theoretic

treatise of Aristotle on the drama remains to prove, what the extant plays confirm, that the Athenian public, so far from being indifferent to consistency, attached to it an importance much greater than the moderns, and more perhaps than is reasonable. And observe further, that the successors of Aeschylus had a temptation, and so far an excuse, for taking liberties in the matter of time, which Aeschylus himself had not. After Aeschylus 'the unity of time', that is, the restriction of the play to a continuous action or, as it is sometimes put, to an action 'within one day', grew into a practice and apparently into something like a rule. It is not always observed; the *Supplices* of Euripides, for example, does not conform to it, nor does the *Andromache*. But there was a tendency to observe it; and the tendency produced, as it was sure to do, some questionable treatment of this artificial 'day', though neither Sophocles nor Euripides, nor any one else that I know of, ever presents us with a 'day' like that of the *Agamemnon*. But Aeschylus did not observe the practice at all. The second scene of the *Eumenides* is separated from the first by an interval of months, if not of years¹. If therefore he wished to bring into one play the fall of Troy and the return of the Greeks, he had no need to appeal to any dramatic license, nor any temptation to distort the facts. His successors could not have done so consistently with their usual practice, and probably would not have thought it desirable. But to account for the supposed structure of the *Agamemnon*, we must assume that Aeschylus, who ignores the 'unity' in the third play of the trilogy, adopted it for the first play in this self-contradictory form, that the action of one play ought nominally to fall within one day, but that in this 'day' may happen whatever events we please. I think it may safely be asserted that such a theory was never professed by any author or critic whatever.

As I see no reason to think that the popular mind in the time of Aeschylus was in this respect very different from the popular mind now, I will offer a Socratic parallel, not the less just because it is homely.—Scene: A room in London. Time: Early morning. Servants discovered preparing the room. From their conversation it appears that the master of the house has been for some time in Africa, and that the conduct of his wife, in relation to a person too often received, is causing them much anxiety and a strong desire for the master's return. They have learnt with satisfaction that their mistress is expecting soon to hear that he is on the way home. A telegram arrives for the lady,

¹ See the description of Orestes' intermediate wanderings, *Eum.* vv. 239—241, 284—5, 454—5.

who presently appears and informs them that it is from her husband, and was despatched last night from Lake Nyanza. Being asked by a servant whether there is a telegraph at the Lake, she explains that the wires have just been extended so far by the result of her husband's enterprise. He intends to return forthwith. She wonders what sort of breakfast he is having in Africa, and hopes that he will not meet with any accident on the road back. The table is laid, and the lady is sitting down to it, when there is a ring at the bell. Enter the husband's courier, who announces that his master is detained for a few minutes at the terminus, but is coming immediately. He dilates upon the discomforts of the Overland route and the breaking-down of an Italian train. The husband follows accordingly. He describes the success of his explorations. The lady receives him with rapture but without any surprise. In conversation with him she says nothing of the telegram, nor he to her. And so ends the first scene.—Now at this point of the story we might either know the key to the riddle (if the author were dramatizing a popular novel) or we might wait for the solution in the sequel. But what would be the bewilderment and the dismay of the audience if it should prove that there was no solution, and that the mysterious telegram, introduced with so much circumstance, had no bearing on the story whatever! I submit that this is not the way in which the crowns of the drama may be won, and that the most rigorous proof should be required before we assume that it ever was.

And so we come to our third point, that these glaring and dangerous defects of construction are also useless and gratuitous. After all, this is perhaps the chief matter. The imagination will work for very moderate wages; but it does expect to be paid something, and a little extra for over-time. There is perhaps no limit, there is certainly no ascertainable limit, to what men will grant to a narrator in the way of supposition, so long as he justifies the concession by making use of it and gives interest for the loan, or in plain words, so long as the supposition is required by the story. A classical example is the story of *Oedipus*¹; but in fact almost every story illustrates in some degree this principle of criticism, and the readers of fiction are applying it every day. If a romancer were to declare that a whole fleet was wafted, spirited, or what you will, five hundred miles in five minutes, and if out of this fiction were developed incidents of interest requiring the supposition, it is quite possible that

¹ See the remarks of Professor Jebb in his *Introduction to the Oedipus Tyrannus*, p. xlv.

his audience or his readers might be perfectly content. But the wild assumptions debited to the *Agamemnon* explain nothing, lead to nothing, serve nothing. If the circumstances of time and place were as natural as they are in fact prodigious, the supposed story would still be a marvel of discontinuity. Let any one suppose the opening scenes of the play, as far as the entrance of the herald, to have survived as a fragment; let him notice the striking incidents which centre upon the announcement of the beacon-message, the night alarm, the amazement of the elders, their vain attempt to get more information from the queen, their open incredulity; and then let him consider how he would have conceived the lost remainder. Why does the poet occupy us with the beacons at all? When with all this expense of falsehood the king is at last brought upon the stage, and the play, which is now nearing its middle, begins for the first time to be connectedly intelligible, all the preliminary apparatus, as we have already said, is simply neglected. Nay more, the only fact which emerges, if anything does, from the perplexity of the introduction—that the king in some unexplained manner came home with astonishing speed and arrived almost as soon as he was announced—, so far from accounting for the sequel, greatly aggravates the difficulties of a narrative, which could ill afford the increase.

Almost every fine story, and in particular almost every story suitable for the stage, contains a certain element of essential improbability. Contrast, so important in dramatic effect, will generally require surprising incidents, and what is surprising cannot be altogether likely. The story of *Agamemnon* and *Clytaemnestra* is no exception to this general rule. It is not impossible, but it is essentially improbable, that a powerful monarch, returning from a great and glorious expedition, should be murdered by his wife and her paramour, and that the murderers should not only escape immediate punishment, but should usurp the throne and establish themselves in possession. It would be much in such a case if the guilty pair could save themselves by a prompt flight from the vengeance of the triumphant husband. That in the very moment of his new strength and popularity they should actually overthrow him and take his place is a thing which only under the most peculiarly favourable circumstances could either happen or seem credible. The first task therefore of a narrator, who for the sake of the striking situation should undertake to present such a story, must be to create these circumstances, and upon his skill in doing this his success, if he were a dramatist, must in the first instance largely depend. For however it may be with the student or the reader, a popular

audience cares first of all for the story, and is not to be put off with profundity of thought, or splendour of language, or sounding rhythm, or with all of these things together.

Now it will be allowed that in the *Agamemnon*, as commonly read, the mechanism of the story has received from the author no consideration at all. According to Aeschylus, it would seem that for an adulteress to kill her king and husband upon a day of triumph, and to raise her paramour to the throne, is an enterprise too plainly facile to require any explanation of the means. Of course the returning monarch will have no suspicions and receive no warning; of course, however abruptly he may arrive, he will find all prepared for the deed; of course when he has fallen, any slight mutiny on the part of his soldiers or subjects will be instantly and easily suppressed. But that Aeschylus should have been content to treat the matter thus is remarkable, not only from the general conditions of theatrical art, but for two more particular reasons. It is odd that if he really did not care, and did not expect any one to care, how the events came about, he should become scrupulous in explanation just at the point where the story is simplest, at the actual striking of the murderous stroke. If, in defiance of likelihood, we once suppose the king to walk ignorant and unsuspecting into the palace where, to the knowledge of his faithful servants and subjects¹, his queen is living in adultery, we can imagine a hundred ways in which the wife, if so minded, might compass his death. Yet the poet exactly describes the very peculiar device by which the murderess made sure that her victim should have, as she says, 'neither defence nor escape' (*v.* 1380). Strange that he should have regarded this, and disregarded the only real and pressing questions, how she got her chance and how she secured her impunity! And again it is odd, that even if the tragedian did not observe for himself that in such a case the preparatory conditions must be a vital part of the plot, he should not have recognized this when it had been emphasized long before by the original narrators of the story.

The version of the legend current at the date of the *Odyssey* is there given incidentally several times². According to this, Aegisthus, the lover of Clytaemnestra, wooed her during the absence of Agamemnon, and with much difficulty induced her to quit the house of her husband for his own. Upon the return of the king Aegisthus bade him to a feast, and there treacherously fell upon him and slew him, Clytaemnestra

¹ *vv.* 37, 620, etc.

² *Od.* I. 35 foll., 3. 247 foll., 4. 512 foll., II. 405 foll.

assisting. The narration given in Book xi by the ghost of Agamemnon also introduces the presence and death of the captive Cassandra. Now we have but to read these references to see at once, that the rhapsodists in their construction of the story were principally occupied with the question, how such a thing could possibly come about, how the king could arrive at the house of Aegisthus uninformed of his wife's infidelity, and why his death was not prevented or instantly avenged by his companions in arms. The two most elaborate recitals, those in the Third and the Fourth Books, relate almost entirely to these points; and in the Third Book the problem is formally propounded. 'How,' asks Telemachus of Nestor very pertinently, 'was the imperial Agamemnon slain? Where was Menelaus? And by what cunning did Aegisthus contrive the death of one far mightier than himself?' The first question, how the king came to be at the moment comparatively helpless, is thereupon answered by Nestor, who relates how a storm divided and in great part destroyed the returning host. Of this we need say little now, as this part of the story is adopted by Aeschylus and will appear presently in its place. The second and principal question, what means Aegisthus used and how they came to be successful, is answered by the narrative of Proteus in the Fourth Book. There we learn that Aegisthus after the seduction, lest Agamemnon should reach home unobserved and learning the facts should fall upon the seducer by surprise, set a watch to look out for him, whose vigilance was prompted by a great bribe. He continued to watch for a year before the king returned, when an accident rewarded this precaution with undesigned and extraordinary success. The same storm, which scattered the fleet, so carried the king's ship out of its course, that he was thankful to land not at home but upon Aegisthus' domain, near the very castle to which he had carried Clytaemnestra. (It is plain, that in the circumstances supposed by Homer this accident offers the only condition under which Agamemnon could possibly be taken unawares.) Aegisthus, apprised by his watchman and seizing the opportunity, invited the king and his companions to a pretended feast of welcome, at which they were treacherously slain. It is noteworthy that the bard, so full is he of the feeling that to fall upon the veterans of Troy, with whatever advantage, was a hazardous feat, after saying that not one of the king's followers was left, adds grimly that not one of the assassins was left either.

Now between Homer and Aeschylus the story, as we see, has essentially changed. In Aeschylus the murder takes place at the king's house where the queen is still ruling, and it is she who plays the deceptive part. Much has been said, and much that is true, on the moral and

spiritual aspects of this change, and on the motives of this kind which would commend it to the tragedian¹. But there were also other reasons simpler and more imperative, why the Homeric version should not have been followed entirely by subsequent narrators, and especially upon the Athenian stage. Without a strong effort of historic imagination, such as no dramatist would willingly require of a popular audience, the Homeric tale could not have been realised. It might pass very well in the antique and consecrated epic, but to expose it in an unfamiliar dress to the 'faithful witness of the eye' would have been in the days of Aeschylus a bold effort indeed. The Homeric story demands for its reception the Homeric mind, and that in two respects. First, in the supposed condition of society and, if the word is applicable, of politics. As conceived by the bard, the whole issue lies between the households and retainers of two chieftains. The lady of Agamemnon leaves her husband's castle for that of Aegisthus. Between the two families this is a deadly breach, but there the rupture ends. What would become of Agamemnon's government upon the flight of his imperial regent, and how the state and the people would be affected and behave, are questions which do not arise, simply because among the independent nobles, to whom the story was sung, no such questions would actually have arisen. But how should they not suggest themselves, if the story was to be presented visibly and in modernized language before a great democracy, to whom the administration of government was a daily familiar problem? And secondly, the epic tale depends still more strictly and necessarily upon the primitive isolation of places. To the bard and his hearers it seemed natural, or at any rate within the license of fiction, that Clytaemnestra in the Peloponnese should have been living for a year in the house of her lover, and that her husband should still return from the Troad ignorant of anything wrong. And the audience of Homer might very well think so. With such communication between the places as they knew, they might well suppose that an expedition sent from Argos to Tröy, if such a thing were to be imagined, would for the time be totally cut off from home and news of home. But how was this to pass in the middle of the fifth century? Would the mass of Athenian spectators, accustomed to hear news from Sigeum every week, readily conceive this situation, and was it worth while to risk anything upon their readiness? Aeschylus at any rate makes no such attempt. On the contrary, by a natural compromise with the habitual ideas of his own time, he supposes such a possibility of communication

¹ See for example the excellent introduction to Enger's edition.

between Troy and Argos that sometimes the very ashes of the dead were sent home for burial¹. It is needless to look further for reasons why he should not have placed the queen in the house of Aegisthus; and the same reflexion, we may add, should make us very slow to assume, as we commonly do, that he has placed Aegisthus in the palace or even in the realm of Clytaemnestra.

Aeschylus then, or the predecessors whom he followed, in adapting the Homeric tradition to the expectations of their public, could not but drop the incident upon which in Homer the whole mechanism of the story depends. But neither surely could they drop it without compensation. The story of Aegisthus and Clytaemnestra is essentially the story of a daring venture, which against all probability and by the favour of circumstances succeeded. The epic bard, after the fashion expected of him, provides the circumstances. With the change of manners and knowledge this fashion became unsuitable; and the difficulty of saving the situation at all was increased in many ways too obvious to be specified. The problem then standing thus, how does the Aeschylean narrative deal with it? The Homeric solution being discarded, what solution does Aeschylus provide? Absolutely, if we are to accept the interpretation of the Byzantine critics, no solution or attempted solution at all. It is hard to say whether the story, as they would reconstruct it, is more amazing in what it affirms or in what it ignores. To the question, the inevitable question, of the Homeric Telemachus, '*How* was the imperial Agamemnon slain, and by what cunning device was he overpowered?' the answer of Aeschylus, we are to understand, would have been this, 'Clytaemnestra entangled him in a bath-drapery made for the purpose'!

We will now rapidly follow the action, from the point where we left it to pursue this criticism. Our difficulties will not disappear or diminish as we proceed. It is true that all that part of the drama which lies between the entrance of Agamemnon and the entrance of Aegisthus, though perplexing in the highest degree if considered in connexion with what precedes or in reference to the unprovided requirements of the situation, does not offer, if taken by itself, any obstacle sufficient to mar its magnificent and astounding effect. The exit of the king, the whole part of Cassandra, the whole scene between the queen and the elders after the murder are such as it would be impertinent to praise. Upon this part of the play, something less than half of it, regarded practically as an independent piece, now reposes

¹ *v.* 448; see also *v.* 855 foll.

the whole reputation of the drama considered as a drama. Indeed the author of the Greek Introduction in the MS., whose ideas respecting the plot as a whole we are content to borrow, is on this point candid enough. 'This part of the play,' he coolly says, after describing the exits of the king and of Cassandra, 'is admired, as astonishing and sufficiently pathetic.' It would be easy to show that this significant *expressio unius* represents also the opinion of the moderns, and that, notwithstanding the rich beauties of the whole, every one more or less openly wonders, why the magnificent central picture and the exquisitely carven frame should be so ill fitted to each other.

For with the entrance of Aegisthus the difficulty begins again. It even becomes so great that it cannot be tolerated, and the knot has to be cut by change of the text. Nowhere is it more apparent than in the finale, how much the dramatist relied for the exposition of the story upon the visible action and upon the previous knowledge of the spectators, how imperfect as a narrative are the mere speeches and odes by themselves, and how serious a task for us, who have neither stage-directions nor authoritative preface, is the reconstruction of the indispensable remainder. We find Aegisthus speaking upon the stage; but how he comes there, where he comes from, and how his appearance is connected with the action up to this point, are questions not to be answered by the mere perusal of what is said. So much however is plain (and admitted), that language is used which cannot be reconciled with the current conception of the story. According to Aeschylus, it is supposed, the overthrow of Agamemnon is entirely the work of Clytaemnestra. Her paramour, being, as the Argives tell him, a dastard, remains hidden in the palace or neighbourhood, and appears only to exult when the deed is done. (Why he should have run the enormous risk of being there at all, if he had no part to play, and whether his conduct is not even more foolish than cowardly, are questions which might occur to us in passing.) But this being so, it is strange that Aegisthus should not only attribute the success to himself, but applaud himself vehemently for the ingenuity by which it was attained: and it passes comprehension that the Argive elders should take him at his own valuation as the principal agent, and should speak of the queen, the sole agent, as having merely 'joined in' the plan. 'It was I,' says Aegisthus, 'who combined and contrived all the difficult plot¹.' What plot? There is no plot. There is no combination or contrivance at all. The king comes to his palace, the queen (how could she less?)

¹ *vv.* 1604—1609.

pretending to welcome him. His first act, as a matter of course, is to take the accustomed lustral bath preparatory to sacrifice. The queen, attending him, envelopes him after the bath with an entangling drapery provided for the occasion, and then in this helpless condition butchers him with an axe. Where is the contrivance? The peculiar drapery? Truly a most ingenious combination. Is it not obvious that if we ignore all the real difficulties of the enterprise, if we suppose the king to arrive uninformed and unsuspecting in the kingdom where his queen had long entertained his bitterest foe, if we suppose that a victorious general had no friends in the country willing or able to avenge him, the actual killing might be done by anybody at almost any time and without the slightest difficulty? That his wife should slay him at the lustration, and should have his drapery so made as to entangle him, might show in her a fiendish cruelty and a cold-blooded precaution; but would he have lived and prospered if the drapery had been of the common make? Truly a profound and an admirable combination!

Yet the Argive elders are quite satisfied. They at once recognize Aegisthus as the contriver and prime agent of the scheme, and all they have to ask is, why then he did not act without the queen. 'Why, as it was thy plot, why, coward, didst thou not do the butchery alone? Why join his wife with thee? Why, to the defilement of our land and our gods, must she be his murderer¹?'

τί δὴ τὸν ἄνδρα τόνδ' ἀπὸ ψυχῆς κακῆς
οὐκ αὐτὸς ἡνάριζες, ἀλλὰ σὺν γυνή,
χώρας μίαισμα καὶ θεῶν ἐγχωρίων,
ἔκτεινε;

And here no disguise is possible. Every one sees that this language, with the emphatic *σύν*, is not such as could reasonably be addressed to one who had merely lain by, while the wife directed and performed the whole. Accordingly *σύν* is condemned as an error, to be replaced by *σοι*, *νῦν*, or other palliatives². We will not here stop to discuss this device, nor will we go further, as might be done, in pressing the acknowledged difficulties which affect the received exposition of the drama as a whole. Sufficient, in my judgment, has been said to show that the text, as it remains to us, without the explanations furnished to the audience by the action upon the stage and by the current version of

¹ vv. 1633—1646.

² It is worth notice that we have the authority of the *Venetus* as well as the *Florentinus* for *σύν*, which was there-

fore almost certainly in the *Mediceus*. That it should have been wrongly inserted by a copyist is technically most improbable.

the story, which they previously knew, presents a difficult problem, to be solved, if at all, by the reconstruction of the action and of the story which Aeschylus presupposed as known, and that as a solution of this problem the hypothesis of the Byzantine editors is quite unworthy of consideration, that it is in fact no solution whatever. It does not give a rational account of the facts or make the purpose of the author intelligible. We will turn rather to the positive and perhaps more fruitful side of the enquiry.

As a preliminary we will notice two or three salient points, which may serve to indicate the direction in which we should strike off. The first of these indications meets us, as if placed for the purpose (and indeed it is) at the very threshold of the play. The watchman upon the palace-roof, whose duty it is to look for the beacon announcing the fall of Troy, informs us in his first words that this outlook has been kept nightly *for a year*. Why for a year? Are we to understand that, when the war had already run eight or nine years, the king and queen, having hitherto thought the ordinary communications sufficient, suddenly established the beacons? It cannot be by accident that this 'year-long watch' exactly reproduces one feature in the story of Homer¹. In Homer the watchman of Aegisthus had been expecting Agamemnon 'for a year'. These words of Aeschylus, compared with the epic narrative, are in themselves enough to suggest and almost to raise a presumption, that in the Aeschylean narrative also the design of Aegisthus and Clytaemnestra had been on foot for a year, and that the outlook kept by the watchman was closely connected with this design.

And for a second guiding-line, let us look again at the very remarkable speech of the queen which follows her description of the beacons and shortly precedes the entry of Agamemnon's herald². It is remarkable, as already observed, as directing our attention to the fact that, if the preceding story be true, the Greeks must be still in Troy. It is even more remarkable as showing, on the part of Clytaemnestra, a power of unconscious divination which Cassandra might have envied. She makes, it is true, the very natural mistake of supposing that the Greeks are in Troy; but on the other hand how wonderfully does she forecast the rest of their story! Except that she does not anticipate (small blame to her prophecy) the compression of the events into one night, her divination is perfect. She fears that the Greek army, not content with their legitimate triumph, may be tempted to plunder the sacred treasures of Troy. They have actually done so. She points out that

¹ *Od.* 4. 526.

² *v.* 332.

such impiety might expose them to the chastisement of the gods in the course of the voyage home. They have actually suffered such a chastisement. The queen, in short, knows so much that it becomes an interesting enquiry how much exactly she knows, and what is the source of her knowledge.

And for the third indication let us turn to the continuation of the story, to the moment in the *Choephoroi*, when Orestes has entered the palace to execute his vengeance, when the murderers of Agamemnon are about 'to be slain by stratagem even as they slew'.¹ It is thus that the chorus, expectant without, sum up the issue to be decided. 'Now either shall the bloody violence of the murderous *axes* make an end utterly and altogether of Agamemnon's house: or else Orestes, *burning a fire and a light for liberation and lawful rule*, shall win again the high prosperity of his fathers.' It is plain that in the first part of the alternative the metaphor of the axes is chosen for its reference to the manner of Agamemnon's death. What was it that suggested in the second alternative the choice of the far from obvious metaphor of a fire? Certainly nothing in the plan of Orestes himself as given us in the *Choephoroi*. Is it not at least a fair *prima facie* conjecture that this also refers to the former plan of his enemies; and that the restoration of the lawful monarchy is likened to the lighting of a fire for liberty, because by the lighting of a fire for tyranny it had been formerly overthrown? But if this is so, we must revise our reading of the *Agamemnon*.

Setting out upon the line thus indicated we might proceed in two ways. Either we might re-examine the play throughout and draw at each point conclusions as to the facts or the dramatic *action*, as distinct from the mere words, which the text assumes. Or, anticipating the conclusion, we may first sketch the story continuously, as we suppose it might have been told in outline, before the play was performed, by any one who knew the version current at the time in Athens, and may then justify our 'hypothesis' by explaining from it the construction of the play. We will take rather the second way, as putting the narrative and the dramatic version in their true order, and will begin with a hypothetical narrative. But in doing this we shall not attempt a distinction, for which there are no materials, between the general outline which the poet took from current legend and the minor details which he may have introduced himself.

¹ *Cho.* 853: see also *ib.* 887.

2. *The Narrative.*

By Divine Providence it is appointed that sin shall tend to make more sin, and in the end that sin shall bring forth punishment. The fall of Agamemnon was the consequence of the sin of his father, seconded in its effect by further sin of his own. His father Atreus, by a horrible crime, brought upon his family an unappeasable enmity and the curse of heaven. Divine interference, punishing this crime in the son, exposed him to a temptation which he had not the virtue to resist. The sin of Agamemnon added to the enmity bequeathed by his father another enmity personal to himself, and the two joined together for his ruin.

The starting-point of the story is the Thyestean feast. Thyestes, brother of Atreus, having corrupted his wife and disputed his throne, and having been banished from Argos, endeavoured by throwing himself upon his brother's mercy to obtain restoration. Atreus pretended to welcome him and to celebrate his return by a feast, at which two of Thyestes' children were served as food to their father, and he was made to eat of it unawares. Thyestes, in the agony of the discovery, devoted the accursed house 'to perish in like manner', overturning the table with his foot as a symbol of his prayer. With his remaining child, Aegisthus, he was then sent again into banishment.

Upon Agamemnon, the son of Atreus, who with his brother Menelaus succeeded to the throne, the curse began to work its effect on the occasion of the expedition to Troy. The anger of heaven against the family delayed with contrary winds the assembled fleet¹, until the seers suggested to the kings as a propitiation the sacrifice of Agamemnon's daughter, Iphigenia. To this wicked act the father at last consented, and from this time was pursued by the hatred of his wife Clytaemnestra as well as that of the still-banished Aegisthus. During the expedition Argos was governed by Clytaemnestra, supported by those elders who necessarily remained at home.

Where Aegisthus was spending his exile, and at what time he first conceived that in the absence of the king and the wrath of the queen he might find the opportunity of restoration and revenge, we do not learn, nor is it material. It is implied that he did visit Argos, not of course openly, and so prevailed with the queen, that she was ready to be his accomplice, if occasion served. With many dramatists, with Euripides for example, it would have been a main point in such a

¹ See on *vv.* 139—144.

situation to show precisely how in the union of Agamemnon's enemies Love and Hatred

ξυνωμότησαν, ὄντες ἐχθιστοὶ τὸ πρὶν.

But the analysis of the passions was no part of the Aeschylean drama, and the apportionment of the two motives is left undetermined, the less intimate and sentimental being placed in the foreground.

But the guilty coalition of Aegisthus and Clytaemnestra was so far from securing the punishment of their common enemy, that it was scarcely so much as a step towards it. It is needless to enquire, and perhaps the poet could scarcely have told us, exactly what institutions he represented to himself as the 'free and lawful government' of ancient Argos¹. Doubtless some such limited monarchy, supported and balanced by the influence of privileged councillors and by the popular will, as the Athenians attributed to their own Theseus, such as their stage exhibits, for example, in the *Oedipus at Colonus*, and as their historian asserts to have been the primitive model all over Hellas². But at any rate in no state, not even the rudest despotism,—and that the Argos of this drama is not a despotism, we are expressly told³—could the alliance of the queen-regent with a broken exile give her the power, any more than the right, to assail with impunity the person or throne of the monarch, whether present or absent, so long as his subjects were loyal to him. A speedy success at Troy and a triumphant return would have made Agamemnon safe. But the vengeance of Heaven was not to be thus eluded. At the setting forth of the army it was prophesied, that though for the sin of Paris Troy was destined to fall, yet by the evil genius of the Atridae her fall should be long delayed⁴. It was the length of the war which wrought the king's ruin, and made at last an opening through which his enemies struck home.

In two ways marked by the dramatist the authority of the royal brothers in Argos was shaken by this protracted contest. First, by the mere change of persons. The departing army left behind them those too old for war and those too young, the elders and the boys. During the ten years the elders were passing away or sinking into dotage, the boys were growing up, and all to the disadvantage of the house of Atreus. Among the elders naturally was to be found most personal devotion to the princes and most attachment to established power. It is this party, if we may so call them, Agamemnon's natural friends and

¹ ἐλευθερία ἀρχαὶ τε πολισσονόμοι. πατρικαὶ βασιλείαι.
Cho. 863. See also *Ag.* 835 foll.

³ *v.* 1353.

² *Thuc.* i. 13, ἦσαν ἐπὶ ῥητοῖς γέραςι

⁴ *vv.* 125—145.

councillors, which is represented by the feeble and anxious remnant, who form the principal chorus of the play: and the poet has spared no pains to expose their weakness¹. As we shall see, the very crisis of the action turns upon their inevitable defect in quickness, decision, and courage. Meanwhile the generation coming up was far from compensating in loyalty for the generation going down. As more and more lives were sacrificed to the revenge of Menelaus, discontent grew deeper and wider; until at last, before the end came, the friends of the king, seeing the course of affairs, yet not daring to interfere, acknowledged to themselves that all was ripe for an outbreak against the government. Powerless already, they lived in constant fear of some dark design, and began to look with desperate eagerness for the king's return².

Meanwhile the queen and the partner of her guilt were using and aiding the natural course of events. How much the king's friends knew, or how much they suspected, of the queen's unfaithfulness, the dramatist nowhere determines, nor would anything have been gained dramatically, but much lost, by doing so. In such a case the question of moment is not so much what is known or suspected, but much rather what cannot be ignored and what is publicly acknowledged. It is plain from the whole course of the play that the correspondence and intimacy of Clytaemnestra with Aegisthus remained to the last at least a pretended secret, not an open scandal³. Upon any other supposition the behaviour of the elders, the king's devoted subjects, towards the queen in the early part of the play and towards the king at his return, is inconceivable, and indeed the whole story is palpably impossible. We are directed to suppose that by the end of the war the repute of Clytaemnestra had reached that only too familiar stage, when a wife's adultery is known to every one and proclaimed by no one, and when those know least or speak least of it who are most nearly interested but, expecting yet weakly dreading the discovery, still say to themselves with the Argive elders

πάλαι τὸ σιγᾶν φάρμακον βλάβης ἔχω.

Down to the day of the king's return Aegisthus was still nominally, as well as legally, a banished man, coming and going of course more and

¹ vv. 72—83 and *passim*.

² vv. 437—480, and vv. 543—555, the first a passage of great importance, in which this part of the story is effectively summed up.

³ 'Aegisthos und Klytämnestra schliessen zwar einen Bund, allein er muss, wenn

die List gelingen soll, vor der Welt geheim gehalten werden.' Enger, *Einleitung*. This is perfectly true; but if Clytaemnestra had recalled from banishment her husband's hereditary enemy, what concealment could any longer be pretended?

more frequently as the hopes of the exiles and the malcontents rose, while the other side still maintained the politic fiction of his absence. On the fatal morning itself he was actually not in the Argolid. Where he was, and where for a long while past he had spent the intervals between his visits, the story is presently to discover. Meanwhile all that the loyal elders knew and acknowledged to themselves respecting the dangerous state of the popular mind was naturally transmitted to their master¹. Nor was it possible but that with these reports a messenger less discreet or more courageous than the rest should sometimes whisper a more dark insinuation. Both the knowledge and the suspicion thus communicated determine, and are necessary to account for, the language held by Agamemnon during his brief appearance before the palace-gate.

But the fears of the seniors would have been much more cruel, and their representations more outspoken, if they had known but half the truth. They perceived that the common indignation against the war offered a ready bond for a conspiracy²; they were not aware that the fiercer spirits were already bound in a plot, and waited only to determine by circumstances how and when they should strike. To explain the sequel we will state so much as the story presumes to be known respecting the geography of the place. The Argolid or πόλις Ἀργεῖος is a plain opening southwards upon a deep bay of the sea, and enclosed on the other sides by mountains. The mountains to the N. E. of the plain are continued southwards in a great promontory forming the eastern side of the bay, and northwards into a mass of hills which extends as far as the Isthmus of Corinth. This whole chain was a lonely region, and had an evil reputation in legend and fact as a haunt of outlaws and robbers³. Nearest to the town of Argos, on the site of which Aeschylus, disregarding the tradition attesting the earlier strength of Tiryns and of Mycenae, has placed the fortified seat of the Atridae⁴, lay Mount Arachnaeus, the *Spider-Mountain*, whose quaint name suggested more than one fanciful application, and not improbably gave the first hint for the story which Aeschylus followed⁵. Here, amid the web of hills and spurs, upon the edge of the forbidden land, lay Aegisthus in hiding with such power as he could make and fed himself, as he tells us, with the exile's bread of expectation⁶. Here

¹ v. 821.

² v. 463.

³ See the story of Theseus and Periphetes.

⁴ See a note on this by Prof. Mahaffy,

Rambles in Greece, chap. XIII. p. 355.

⁵ See the twice repeated v. 1493, and note.

⁶ v. 1668.

was the fittest place from which to watch the communications of Argos by sea and land with the army in the far east; and hence it was easy, when the moment should come, to signal either by day or by night to his partizans in the castle and throughout the country. Supposing all for the best, a hard enough task lay still before him.

For it would have been madness to assume that because the Argives murmured against the absent princes, and because, while appearances were kept up, the malcontents seemed a formidable number, therefore all, or a majority, were ready to stand by while the queen disowned her husband and proclaimed her lover. In such a situation the very best restorative to loyalty is that the lawful authority should be assailed by violence one minute too soon. And so foul a treachery as that of Clytaemnestra must arm against it not only all those whose disaffection had spent itself in hot words, but every honest man. Only with the advantage of surprise and stratagem could her cause be won by such and so many as would support it when once proclaimed. The key to the country was its 'sole fortress', the city or rather the castle of the Atridae¹. To put it into the hands of the traitors would with some management not be difficult. But of what use was this, if the king were thereupon to return armed with all the strength of Achaia and of Hellas? Plainly the ultimate success or failure of Aegisthus must turn on the question whether Agamemnon came back, and in what circumstances he came. Meanwhile the conspirators resolved at least not to be surprised. The seas were carefully scanned (with what result hereafter appears); and that communication might be instantly opened, if necessary, between the principals, a watchman upon the palace kept outlook every night for a beacon upon the Mountain of the Spider. Here a small difficulty had to be overcome. The servants of Agamemnon's household were devoted to their master. None of them could be trusted. Yet to introduce a stranger for such a special service would have attracted suspicion at once. Accordingly Clytaemnestra chose among the servants a fellow as simple as loyal, and, to explain to him his employment, pretended to be expecting a beacon-signal announcing the king's success. His vigilance and silence were secured by threats and bribes. This arrangement was maintained during the whole last year of the king's absence. The watchman, impatient of his task and disposed to regard it as an absurd effect of feminine eagerness and imagination, was for this very reason the less disposed to talk of it, and had never connected it, as he had no apparent reason to do, with

¹ *v.* 267.

that conviction about his mistress which he shared with the rest of the world¹.

Such was the situation in Argos, when 'about the setting of the Pleiads', by our calendar in the month of November, Troy was at last taken². The occurrence of the event at this season was the beginning of the conspirators' good fortune. The seas were closed. Even in the historic times of ancient Hellas few voyages were undertaken in the winter; and according to poetical tradition no one expected after the 'setting of the Pleiads' to sail at all. Ordinary communication being thus suspended, the party preparing for the attack had the full advantage of their preparation. What precisely were their arrangements for obtaining information respecting the army does not appear in the play, nor was it at all necessary (the story being known) that it should. There would be no insuperable difficulty in getting information for those with whom to be the first informed was a matter of life and death. To bring any exhibition of the means within the time covered by the action upon the stage would have been very difficult, and useless. For the purpose of the play it suffices that information was obtained: and this much is exhibited clearly enough. We have already seen that Clytaemnestra, at the very moment of receiving, as she pretends, the first news of the triumph, is acquainted not only with the outrages since committed in Troy by the victorious army, but with the disaster at sea which they have suffered in consequence³.

Once more, the reckless and cruel pride of Agamemnon had betrayed him to his ruin. Not content with the stern vengeance which the justice of Hellenic war would have sanctioned, he had utterly ravaged and literally destroyed the captive city, sparing not even the sacred places⁴. It was probably not unnoticed by the narrator that by this brutality and sacrilege the Greek army also destroyed the last possibility of remaining where they were till a more favourable season, and forced themselves to tempt the risks of the winter passage even while they forfeited the protection of heaven. The neighbouring country they had already eaten up⁵. They set sail at any rate, and fared as they had deserved. One fearful night of storm scattered the armament to the winds; and

¹ See the prologue, in which the relevant points in the character of the watchman are given with extraordinary skill and force.

² *v.* 817.

³ *vv.* 332—362.

⁴ *vv.* 353 foll., 530 foll. etc. The attribution of these sentiments to heroic antiquity is of course an anachronism, but so is the whole play.

⁵ *v.* 133.

at sunrise the 'destroyer of Ilium' found himself, like Xerxes at sunset, 'a sovereign of the seas without a fleet'.¹

By this disaster the cause of the conspirators, hitherto almost desperate, was advanced to a fair chance of success. But the final enterprise was still very perilous. The king might have escaped. If he returned, the queen and her lover could triumph only by destroying him, which, if they declared themselves before he came, they would certainly not do without a bloody and doubtful contest against his veteran soldiers and those who would rally round his person. Completing therefore their plans to suit the new situation they waited still a short while for the event. When the moment should arrive, the signal from Mount Arachnaeus was to announce to those in the secret that their accomplices were ready. Fortune stood by them still, so far at least as that the king's ship, which by what seemed a happy miracle had survived the storm, was the first of the survivors to reach Argos. Still more propitious was the hour of arrival. It was in the dead of the winter night that this remnant of the great host came into the bay². By none but those in the plot was such an arrival expected, and they only were upon the watch. The news of the king's approach was instantly carried to the neighbouring eastern hills, and it was still night when the watchman from the palace saw the beacon upon Mount Arachnaeus and carried to his mistress the news, as he supposed, that Troy had fallen, in reality that the king had come, that Aegisthus was ready, and that she and their partizans throughout the Argolid (for the light could be seen far and wide) were to act as had been pre-arranged³.

¹ *v.* 1226.

² The story named the very night. It was the last of the year. That this was so will be seen by comparing the language of the watchman at the opening with the expression of the herald at his first entrance, *δεκάτῳ σε φέγγει τῷδ' ἀφικόμενῃ ἔτους* on *this tenth dawn of a year* (*v.* 509). It is an addition to the picturesque impressiveness of the circumstances that the day of the murder was a specially solemn day of religious rejoicing. Clytaemnestra also remembers the season, when she compares the return of a husband to the relief of a beneficent change in the weather (*vv.* 957—963). It will be noticed that, while the other seasons are cited in the aorist tense of

generality and associated with husbands in general, the 'coming in winter' is referred to Agamemnon personally and described in the present tense of actuality. The interval between the fall of Troy and the arrival would thus be something over a month, not at all too much for the repose of the army, the destruction of the city, the preparations for departure, the voyage up to the storm, and the bringing of the king's 'bare hull' from the point to which it was carried (beyond Malea, according to Homer) back to Argos.

³ The arrangement of the circumstances here is exceedingly skilful. The one chance for Aegisthus and Clytaemnestra was that they should strike *immediately* on the king's arrival. Every hour

The plot now to be executed had three objects, all familiar in the perpetual conspiracies and revolutions of Hellas, first to separate the king from his soldiers and murder him, before his friends could repair to him or open his eyes; secondly to secure the citadel; and thirdly to capture the principal persons of the loyal party. Given the extraordinary circumstances, this was now a hopeful project though, as the sequel shows, by no means certain yet. Upon the report of the signal the queen at once sent out messengers announcing that she had received great news and ordering a general feast in honour of the occasion, thus quieting and diverting the minds of all who were not better informed. At the same time she summoned the king's chief friends, the elders of the city, who in their anxiety at this nocturnal alarm and their eagerness for explanation were but too ready to come¹. On reaching the fortress, they waited in the place of council, which lay as usual before the palace doors², for some time, as the queen, whose object was to detain and to mystify them for the necessary interval, was in no hurry to satisfy their curiosity. It was day-break when at length she appeared and in answer to their enquiry as to her news informed them that Troy had fallen that very night. It had been foreseen that some explanation must be offered, and this particular falsehood had the double advantage of tallying with the belief of the watchman and of removing all apparent need for immediate action of any kind. One question could not be escaped, by what means the intelligence had come; and the queen, with an eloquence which might almost persuade her auditors, traced for them the imaginary links between the visible beacon on Mount Arachnaeus and the king's beacon upon Mount Ida at Troy. It is true that in fabricating this story she betrayed a misconception of the region described, such as might be expected in a queen of Argos in the heroic times. Nor were her auditors contented. Though they had not sufficient knowledge to detect the fraud, the mere circumstances were such as inevitably to prompt suspicion. They tried to probe the evidence. But the queen had taken care to surround

that he passed in communication with his subjects must make the queen's position more perilous and her success more improbable. It is manifest that the situation given by Aeschylus is just one, perhaps the only one,¹ in which by vigilance the conspirators might have several hours of clear advantage. The dramatist probably assumed, as he does in the *Suppliants*, that the landing-place for Argos

was in ancient times unoccupied.

¹ *v.* 270 implies that the elders had been sent for. But to repair to the castle would (as they say *v.* 267) have been their impulse. It is evident here and everywhere that, though suspecting or knowing the queen's infidelity, they have not the least glimpse of her treason.

² *v.* 523.

herself with some of those in her secret; and by their professions of belief and confidence she was enabled to evade enquiry¹. She added a few words suitable to the supposed circumstances and withdrew.

All this time her partizans in the country, favoured by the darkness and their knowledge of the facts, were using their advantage. One party had hastened to the landing-place to receive the king and his companions, and were now already on their way thence to the castle, a distance of some miles, conducting him, his soldiers, and his captive Cassandra as in triumph². Others were assembling in and at the fortress itself, while Aegisthus with his band was descending from the hills, ready to push forward at the last moment. It was no doubt one of the merits in the 'combination,' upon which he prided himself, that personally he ran scarcely any risk at all, even in the event of failure, still quite possible, as was soon to be seen.

Left to their own reflexions, the seniors could not fail to perceive, even with such light as they had, the weakness of the evidence laid before them. They remembered the state of the country and felt vaguely uneasy. It was possible certainly that Troy was really taken, but much more likely, considering all things, that the queen was the victim of some imposture or delusion, which would soon be exposed³. They were in this mood when they perceived signs of the king's company approaching in the distance and at the same moment the entrance of one who by his appearance seemed likely to know the truth. The king had sent forward a herald.

This incident, probable as it was and not to be prevented, was no part of the conspirators' design, and extremely dangerous to them. With the first words of the herald, the queen's whole story fell to the ground. Here was the crisis. If the elders had been sagacious, prompt, and bold, if, putting together all that they knew, they had argued from it to a remote consequence and acted instantly upon the inference, they and the king might perhaps yet have been saved. But criminal plots would seldom or never succeed but for the weakness or error of those concerned to prevent them. And in this case the default was certainly pardonable. The queen could not be altogether right, not right at all as to the beacon-message. But so the elders had already presumed. And what did it matter, when as to what seemed after all the main fact, she was now confirmed? Troy was really

¹ *v.* 363.

² According to the Greek 'hypothesis', the king enters in a chariot, Cassandra and some of the spoil in a

second chariot. This is possibly a genuine piece of tradition.

³ *vv.* 481—493.

conquered; the king was come; and the queen's wild fancy about the beacon might well be perfectly innocent. If indeed they had had time first to consider and then to put questions! But the herald, mad with rapture, was in no mood to catch hints. While they were fumbling with vague suggestions of danger at home he had darted off again upon the topic of his sufferings; and before they could recover the subject the queen was upon them and had promptly dismissed the herald with a message of welcome to his master¹.

The elders made indeed an effort to detain him by a question as to the safety of Menelaus, who had not been mentioned, a most unfortunate question, as the reply to it necessarily disclosed the destruction of the fleet, and by this news they were sufficiently distracted from more opportune reflexions until the king's arrival. The king arrived, with the companions of his voyage and their escort, and the success of the plot was almost assured.

The king arrived at the fortress, and his loyal friends saw with surprise, that the triumphant crowd by which he, his soldiers, and they were now surrounded, seemed to consist of the very men whom they had most reason to suppose disaffected. So striking was this, that even in the moment of welcome they could not but remark upon it resentfully, and warn the king not to be deceived by this show of unanimous rejoicing². Agamemnon, putting their hint to previous reports³, understood them perfectly. Indeed he had returned full of anger against his subjects and of suspicion against his wife, and spoke as if it had been his express object to aid the conspirators, by aggrieving any waverers among their party or any loyalists who on the way from the sea to the castle had joined the company or were otherwise accidentally present. He and the gods of Argos had won a glorious triumph; but he had been ill served abroad and ill served at home, and so the offenders

¹ The brief conversation between the elders and the herald (*vv.* 543—555) and the manner in which by their hesitation and his impatience the minute is lost seems to me an admirable stroke of dramatic art. Equally good is the dexterity and presence of mind shown by the queen at her re-entrance (*v.* 592). Here the slip of a word might have been fatal. If she referred to the supposed message from Troy, she risked a remark from the herald; if she was seen to avoid the subject, she ran still more risk from the

suspicion of the elders. What she actually says is so adroitly turned, that while she seems to treat the matter with simple frankness, there is not a word which could suggest to the uninformed herald that there was anything remarkable in the time or circumstances of the message she mentions. To relish this kind of linguistic skill was a speciality of the Attic audience. It is the essence of their famous 'irony.'

² *vv.* 774—800.

³ *v.* 821.

should find to their cost. Not a word of thanks, not a word, even after the wide-spread calamity just announced, of compassion¹. Nothing could better lead up to the final stroke prepared by Clytaemnestra.

Advancing from the palace, she addressed her husband in a strain of extravagant and rapturous adulation, and then, bidding her attendants to strew rich tapestries over the approach, invited him to accept in the presence of the assembly the signs of that adoration which befitted the conqueror of Troy. Agamemnon, in great anger, replied to the address with a stern rebuke and would gladly have escaped the malicious honour. But the queen by insistence and almost by violence compelled him to proceed, all the multitude beholding his act and many not aware of his reluctance. Thus with the symbol and show of an Asiatic tyrant did the victim of the new tyranny pass finally into the toils².

The fate of Cassandra, though of immense importance in the tragedy, not only for its own pathos but as giving another direction to the compassion which would otherwise have centred, contrary to the purpose, upon the murdered king, is to the mere machinery of the story insignificant³. She perished with her enslaver and possessor, whose death was now near and inevitable. When he had gone within, his soldiers departed or dispersed through the fortress, and the throng broke up. But the elders, already unconscious prisoners, had no mind to go away. The strange events of the morning had produced in them, though they could not seize the clue, a vague but invincible sense of danger. Already repenting their reticence and consoling themselves as best they could with the hope of the feeble that 'something will intervene', they waited in perplexity to see what would happen⁴.

¹ *vv.* 801—845.

² Surely it is impossible to reconcile this scene with the supposition, that Agamemnon had no suspicion of his wife's honour. What other motive could explain his brutality? He gives her no greeting, he will not even mention her title or her name. His language is full of insinuation. It is the daring and above all the resources of Clytaemnestra, which are unsuspected by Agamemnon, not her unfaithfulness. The sarcastic ἀπονοία μὲν εἶπας ἐκόντως ἐμῇ· μακρὰν γὰρ ἐξέτεινας, the husband's sole reply to his wife's affectionate greeting after a separation of ten years, is described by Enger as 'a mild reproach.' If this is mildness, what

would be severity?

Whether in the end Agamemnon willingly consents to the use of the tapestry may be questioned. I see no trace in his words that his mind is changed about it at all. The other view seems to prevail. But the question is of little importance. The tapestry is a mere detail, introduced chiefly for spectacular effect.

³ See the last words of Cassandra (*vv.* 1326—1329), which expressly declare the part which she plays in the economy of the piece.

⁴ *vv.* 966—1018. Perhaps no passage in the play is more completely irreconcilable with the current theory of the story than this. If Aegisthus is living, by

What happened was this. In the palace the king found all in readiness both for sacrifice and lustration, for which preparation the festivities commanded in the morning had furnished a pretext¹. He went, as custom commanded, to bathe before the ceremony. Clytaemnestra, eager for the delight of taking her revenge with her own hand, had marked for herself this moment. She had even descended to plan the details of the bath so as to increase the helplessness of the victim. There with an axe she slew him, and his councillors, wrought by the agony of the foreseeing Cassandra to a paralysing terror, learnt his fate and theirs from his dying cry.

For now at last they began to realize the situation, and saw that the adulterers and their adherents had struck down not only the king, but with him the liberties of Argos². Resistance was impossible. The fortress was in the hands of the conspirators, the remnant of the king's army entrapped and overpowered, the country surprised, and the loyal without a leader, the young heir Orestes being absent and the elders themselves in the power of the enemy. Among the people, between the victory and the loss of the fleet, more hearts had perhaps been lost than gained. Nay, the elders themselves were forced to confess that of the chief conspirators Clytaemnestra at least had a foul wrong and a presentable cause, nay, even that their own cause was not clear, for what had they done to save the innocent Iphigenia? To the name of Iphigenia the queen instantly appealed, and the counsellors could not but allow that as between her, the mother, and them, in some sort the murderers, it was a doubtful case. Thus does Aeschylus moralize at once both the personal and the public aspects of his story³.

But whatever compunction even the friends of Agamemnon might feel in the presence of Clytaemnestra gave way to pure rage when Aegisthus with his ruffians entered the fortress and joined the queen where she stood with her defenders around her and the dead bodies at her feet, exulting in his 'just restoration' from exile⁴ and boasting the skill with which he had conducted the successful design. At the sight

the queen's permission, in Argos, what can the elders possibly mean by speaking of their 'inexplicable fears'? Obviously on this supposition the danger of Agamemnon must be imminent and certain, and the elders, who did not warn him, are in fact nothing less than accessories to his death.

¹ *vv.* 1040—41.

² *v.* 1354, 1495—97, and the concluding scene *passim*.

³ *vv.* 1410 foll., 1554—1560 etc.

⁴ *v.* 1607. The language of Aegisthus here would of itself suffice to show that he comes from abroad and now for the first time appears publicly in Argos.

of the mercenaries¹ the friends of liberty, inflamed to madness, would even have provoked their death there and then, and Aegisthus, cruel and cowardly, would have taken their challenge. But the queen, more politic as well as less base, would not suffer her hostages to be massacred. Prisoners however they remained², and thus, all power but that of the despots being dissolved, the land settled down under the adulterous tyranny until Orestes should come.

Thus, as the story was conceived at Athens in the fifth century, thus or somewhat thus was the imperial Agamemnon slain.

3. *The Structure of the Drama.*

We have now to show how the foregoing story, or a story like this in the main outline, was by Aeschylus shaped as a drama. The Byzantine story is condemned, first because it is absurd in itself, and next because, even if given, it still does not account for the construction and language of the play. The proof which we shall offer for the general truth (to no more than this ought any one in such a case to pretend) of our alternative hypothesis, is that it does explain and account for the drama with perfect simplicity.

But first it will be well to remind ourselves that it is a play of Aeschylus which we have before us, and to consider for a moment what Greek *drama* originally had been and, when Aeschylus took it in hand, was in its essence and main conception still. It is a familiar fact, that dialogue, the substance of a play as we conceive it, was first introduced into the drama by Aeschylus himself. We know also that the other literary element in the drama, the songs of the chorus, received from Aeschylus a great extension and development, so that the masses of continuous music, which he imported from the method of the choric poets proper, are criticised, as a peculiarity, by his adversary in the *Frogs* of Aristophanes. Indeed to Aristophanes it seemed that the whole of 'tragedy' as a distinct style of literature ought to be referred to Aeschylus as the first inventor³; and whatever the value of this opinion, which with our little evidence we should be slow to dispute, we know that the earliest rudiments of literary tragedy could be traced no higher than Aeschylus' immediate predecessors. But what was the stock upon

¹ The character of Aegisthus' followers is sufficiently shown by *v.* 1638.

² *vv.* 1656, 1659.

³ ὦ πρῶτος τῶν Ἑλλήνων πυργώσας

ρήματα σεμνὰ | καὶ κοσμήσας τραγικὸν
λῆρον, says the Chorus of the *Frogs*
(1006).

which, whether by Aeschylus, by Phrynichus, or if it was so by Thespis, the literary tragedy was grafted. Whence came the name which was for some time bestowed upon the whole? What was *drama*? For whoever may first have used the word *drama* in its present sense, neither Aeschylus nor Thespis invented, or is supposed to have invented, the thing. Drama, as the name implies, is not properly a form of written literature at all, but something far older and more natural. It is *action*, the presentation of a picture, fact, or story by movement and pantomime. It exists or has existed everywhere for ages without any literature at all, and has often attained a high development without even any regular verbal composition. When indeed literature takes possession of it, the literary element by its deeper interest and greater permanence will surely conquer the rest, and in Athens during the fifth century this process, like all others, went on with amazing rapidity, so that we soon arrive at a species of 'drama', such as the *Medea* of Euripides or the *Oedipus at Colonus* of Sophocles, which is not essentially an 'action' or performance at all, but a thing to be heard or read. The name in fact had already become, as it now notoriously is, a misnomer. But it was of course not a misnomer when it was given, and it is highly significant that the art which Aeschylus took up and turned into tragedy called itself 'performance' or 'action.' If we compare what was written, in ages when the book-drama was familiar, about the early dramatists of Athens, with what was said of them at the time when they were still remembered, we shall note a marked difference. We speak, and Suidas might have spoken, of Phrynichus as composing a tragedy on the taking of Miletus. But Herodotus does not say so. He says that he 'made a performance' or 'action' of it¹. Aristophanes mentions Phrynichus often and tells us that even in his own day the songs of Phrynichus were still the favourites of the older generation. But nowhere, I believe, does Aristophanes or any one near that time, speak of the δράματα of Phrynichus as a kind of literature, which existed or could exist in a manuscript, like the *Andromeda* of Euripides, which Dionysus read on board ship before the battle of Arginusae². He speaks of them as things which had been. 'Phrynichus,' says Agathon to Mnesilochus in the *Thesmophoriazusae*, 'whose work you have yourself heard, was fine in person and fine in dress, and that is why his *actions* were fine too³.' Phrynichus, as he appears in the allusions of Aristophanes is properly an artist in *pantomime*, inventor of gestures, figures, and movements, and

¹ 6. 21.² *Frogs* 53.³ *Thesm.* 167.

author of popular songs ; and the same character is given by all the first-hand evidence to the predecessors of Aeschylus.

Now as even the greatest innovator does not change everything in a moment, it is important to remember all this when we come to the work of Aeschylus himself. When we speak of 'reading a drama' we are using an expression which to Aeschylus would probably have been unintelligible. What lies before us is not the 'action' but the words that were to go with the action ; and we have only to read them to see how much the manuscript implies which it does not directly express. Take for instance the *Seven Against Thebes* and read what the ancient editors offer as a list of the *dramatis personae*: 'Eteocles, Antigone, A spy, Ismene, Chorus of maidens, A herald'. These are the persons who speak or sing and therefore attract the exclusive attention of the bookman, but they are a mere fraction of the performers required by 'the drama'. Besides the six champions who accompany Eteocles in the central scene, and without whose figures, dress, and behaviour the written dialogue could not be followed, we have a crowd of 'Cadmean citizens', upon whose playing, together with that of the maidens, would in performance depend the main effect both of the first scene and of the conclusion. It is they in fact, as much or more than the speakers, who conduct that 'action filled with the spirit of war' of which the Aristophanic Aeschylus speaks so proudly². And this case is typical. The same applies in part to the *Choephoroi*, still more to the *Eumenides*, most of all to the *Supplices* and the *Persae*. In this last drama the poetry, for all its magnificence, is no more than a *libretto*. Except in the narrative of the battle, the literary element is no where independent and scarcely principal. The spectacular performance is the essence of the piece, of which a considerable part, when divorced from the intended accessories, is scarcely readable. When Aeschylus in the *Frogs* vaunts himself to Dionysus upon the merits of the *Persae*, it is not the odes, the speeches, or even the thrilling narrative, which the name suggests to that typical representative of the Athenian theatre. What he recalls with pleasure is a striking pose of the performing company, a situation which has disappeared from the permanent literary form of the work, so that we actually do not now know where to place it³. In fact with the possible exception of the *Prometheus*, none of

¹ I give the list in the order, which I now think may be correct, of the Medicean MS. On another occasion I hope to make some remarks upon it, which would here be out of place.

² δρᾶμα ποιήσας Ἄρεως μεστὸν, ... τοὺς

Ἔπρ' ἐπὶ Θήβας, *Frogs* 1021.

³ *Frogs* 1027, ἐχάρην γοῦν ἡνίκ' ἤκουσα περὶ Δαπέλου τεθνεώτος, ὃ χορὸς δ' εὐθὺς τῷ χεῖρ' ὧδ' συγκρούσας εἶπεν, λαοῖ. There is some slight error in the text, but this is not here material.

the extant plays of Aeschylus is a book-play, like the *Medea*, or the *Oedipus at Colonus*, or the dramatic poems of modern times. All are dramas proper, or representations in acting, and the *Agamemnon* is of the same type as the rest.

Even long after the time of Aeschylus, when drama as a purely literary type was fully established and hundreds of tragedies were composed with scarce a hope of performance¹, and when, as inevitably happened, the importance of the non-literary elements had relatively much declined, even then the part of the 'supers', to use the familiar term, was larger than a hasty reading of the text might lead us to suppose. I will give one striking example of this, where we are made more than commonly sensible of the stage 'crowd' by the fact that some of them are at a particular part of the action converted from mutes into singers. The scene in the *Hippolytus*, where the hero is denounced by Theseus, takes place, as the situation demands and the text shows, in the presence of many persons², servants of the king, friends of Hippolytus, and so forth. It is followed by an ode, sung not by women only like most of the odes preceding, but by men and women in response, a fact which by a mere accident is visible in the text. The *strophe* speaks in the masculine, the *antistrophe* in the feminine, the second *strophe* in the masculine again: the second antistrophe does not happen to give grammatical evidence of sex, but is proved feminine by its substance. The text runs thus³

στρ. α'. ἦ μέγα μοι τὰ θεῶν μελεδήμαθ', ὅταν φρένας ἔλθῃ
 λύπας παραιεῖ· σύνεσιν δέ τιν' ἐλπίδι κεύθων
 λείπομαι ἔν τε τύχαις θνατῶν καὶ ἔν ἔργμασι λεύσσω κτλ.
 ἀντ. α'. εἶθε μοι εἰξαμένα κτλ.
 στρ. β'. οὐκέτι γὰρ καθαρὰν φρέν' ἔχω, τὰ παρ' ἐλπίδα λεύσσω κτλ.

This alternation of gender admits but one reasonable explanation, that these singers are what they declare themselves, men and women respectively. And since the play has a chorus of men (*v.* 61) as well as a chorus of women, and an excellent opportunity has just occurred for bringing the men upon the stage as part of the crowd, the combination is quite simple. But the case is a good warning how easily we may miss the action in a text without supplemental directions. It is by

¹ *Frogs* 90, τραγῳδίας ποιῶντα πλεῖν ἢ μυρία κτλ. It will be noticed that Aristophanes does not say δράματα. I believe he would even then have felt the

word in this context to be impossible.

² Eur. *Hipp.* 1083, 1098.

³ *ib.* 1102.

mere chance that the language here betrays a change which is of no small dramatic importance¹.

And if this caution applies to the study of Euripides, it applies much more to Aeschylus. For between Aeschylus and Euripides, with the development of literary drama and the greater variety of written parts, the use of the mute players had much fallen off. 'In my plays,' Aristophanes makes Euripides say, 'no one was left without a part; there were speeches for the lady, for the slave no less than the master, for the young girl and for the old woman too'.² This is of course an exaggeration. There are silent persons in Euripides, not a few; we have just seen an example, and any one of his plays will furnish others. But the text of the dramatists fully corroborates the remark of Aristophanes taken generally. The drama of Sophocles and Euripides is primarily a drama of speeches; the silent players are generally unimportant. There are few instances, perhaps none, in Sophocles or Euripides, of such figures as the judges in the *Eumenides* or the champions in the *Septem*, whose action is of the highest importance and upon whose persons and bearing the full attention of the audience is directed, while yet they have nothing to say. A writer who took any thought for readers would not be likely to introduce such parts. In Aeschylus, as his text and the observation of Aristophanes unite in showing, it was otherwise; and in the interpretation of Aeschylus we must add to the caution required by our imperfect knowledge of his story the further caution imposed by the fact, that we have to supply the action, and that this supplement was a far more important matter with the 'inventor of tragedy', than with his more purely literary successors. Perhaps this consideration is too little regarded. No one can suppose that the plays of Aeschylus were performed entirely by the personages who speak and a 'chorus', in the modern sense of the word, who sang. The supposition is absolutely inconsistent with the texts. But the rest of the company, merged in the general and proper

¹ The explanation of the *scholia*, that the masculine parts of the ode are spoken in the character of the poet, is more ingenious than rational. How could the same set of persons carry on a dialogue between themselves and another, and how should the author figure by this strange deputation in his own play? The modern suggestion that the language in the masculine is 'more general' is scarcely true and, if it were, would not explain why a

woman should speak of herself in the masculine singular, or why the 'more general' and the 'more personal' language should alternate in strophe and antistrophe.

² *Frogs* 948, ἐπειτ' ἀπὸ τῶν πρώτων ἐπὼν παρήκ' ἂν οὐδέν' ἀργόν, ἀλλ' ἔλεγεν ἡ γυνή τέ μοι κτλ. I give the reading of Lenting and Blaydes in preference to οὐδέν παρήκ' ἂν ἀργόν MSS. The meaning in any case is the same, and is explained by the antithesis.

designation of *χορός*¹, receive little attention now that their action can no longer be seen and no stage-directions survive to represent it: and this neglect, of little moment in the later poets, may well mislead us in the case of dramas composed when performance was still the sole purpose and staple of the art. That there were not in some dramas of Aeschylus passages (if the word is applicable) of pure mime, of music and acting merely, such as are, or till very recently were, common upon the popular stage of Italy, is by no means clear: from Aristophanes, as well as from the probabilities of the case, we should rather suppose that there were such passages, nor is the text without confirming indications, as will in one case presently be seen. At all events the element of action was still important, and the picture was still presented essentially by means of performance.

It is so presented in the *Agamemnon*. The 'plot' of the drama, a plot both in the theatrical and in the more familiar sense of the word, is performed before the audience: and we cannot properly read the written tragedy without figuring to ourselves that performance, separate from which it was never conceived by the author. The 'crowd', chiefly those partizans of Aegisthus and Clytaemnestra without whose support their triumph would be visibly impossible, are naturally not for the most part provided with speeches, any more than the followers of Agamemnon, or the *λοχῆται* led by Aegisthus. All these classes of persons, or representatives of them, do speak, and in three places at least, one very important, the mediaeval editors, by narrowing their conception of the *χορός* to the elders who sing the regular odes, have found and left pieces of the text unintelligible². For the most part however their part is performance only, but that performance is necessary both to the picture and to the understanding of what is said. As in the foregoing story the action of the piece is anticipated, the formal description of it shall now be made as brief as possible.

The scene represents the palace of Agamemnon in the fortress of Argos. Before the entrance are statues of the gods, among them Zeus and Apollo, and the place of council with its seats. The time is night. A watchman is seen upon the roof. *Prologue* (1—39). The watchman explains the supposed purpose of his employment. The beacon appears

¹ We have no English term equivalent to the Greek *χορός*, which signifies 'a number of persons executing prescribed movements'. That it was and remained the term in use for what we call an acting 'company', is shown by the phrase *χορὸν*

λαβεῖν, applied to a dramatist who was 'granted a performance' of his play.

² *vv.* 363, 618—621, 1522—1523. See also *vv.* 506, 631 (note on the translation), 1625, 1649—1653.

and he gives the alarm within. He expresses his delight in a dance (after *v.* 33), by way of prelude to the general rejoicings. Exit.

What here follows is not clearly indicated; but it can scarcely be supposed that the elders, who have still to be summoned (*v.* 270), enter at once. The text presumes some interval and it is not likely that the action was arranged so as to contradict it. We may conjecture that the rousing of the palace, the sending out of the messengers, the kindling of fires upon the altar or altars before the entrance, and the rejoicing of the household, was typically represented in action with music, for which the words of the watchman (*φροῖμον χορεύσομαι*) seem to prepare the way. Enger, in his *Introduction*, makes, if I understand him rightly, some such suggestion (*p.* xviii).

Enter the Elders, singing first a *march* (40—103) and then the *First Stasimon* or regular ode in responson (104—268).

The great length of this chorus is not an arbitrary or accidental circumstance. It is necessary to suppose here a considerable lapse of time, even after the entrance of the Elders, and the delay of Clytaemnestra in appearing is a proper part of the plot¹.

The elders state the reason of their coming. They recall how the war was commenced with ambiguous omens, the sacrifice of Iphigenia, and the threatening prophecies thereupon. Doubtful as to the meaning of this nocturnal alarm, they have come, as invited by the queen, to assure themselves of the safety of the fortress.

*First Scene in Dialogue*² (*vv.* 270—378). Clytaemnestra, attended by Conspirators, comes from the palace. She informs the elders that Troy has been taken during the night, and the news announced by a chain of beacons, of which she gives an imaginary description. By the assistance of her followers she eludes further enquiry and retires.

From this time forward the elders are carefully watched, as the situation of the plot requires, by those in the queen's interest, who continue to assemble. The proceedings of the elders and even their actual words, are reported within the palace. This, which upon the stage would be manifest of itself, is accidentally indicated to us by the text in the next scene, where Clytaemnestra makes a pointed allusion to the doubt which, during her absence, they have expressed as to the truth of her information. This deserves notice as an instructive example of the difficulties presented by a stage-play stripped of the necessary directions for action³. I think it

¹ As to the apostrophe addressed to her at *v.* 83 see note there.

² ἐπεισόδιον.

³ I submit that the above is the only natural way of solving the question which the more careful commentators justly raise. "καὶ τίς μ' ἐνέπρων" clearly refers to the incredulity of the chorus (485). How would K. know of this, it is asked, as she was not there? The answer is

that the chorus only expresses the general feeling of the citizens, which she can naturally be supposed to learn." (Sidd-
wick on *v.* 595.) This answer seems to me, I confess, not an answer but an evasion. The question is not what other persons may have shared the feelings of the elders, but how did Clytaemnestra know what feelings the elders had expressed? It is to their expressed incre-

certain that we miss altogether much which to the playwright was important. It is scarcely necessary to point out, what opportunities are given in this scene and those that follow for effective contrasts of action between those who are and those who are not in the secret.

Second Stasimon (vv. 379—480). The elders, avoiding the topic of the alleged victory, pursue their reflexions upon the sin of Paris, and all the misery thereby caused to the princes and people of Argos, misery of which the end is yet obscure. The people are weary of their sufferings, and their anger, malignantly fomented, threatens the gravest danger; nor can the friends of the king appeal with a clear conscience to the favour of heaven. They fear an insurrection. Triumph and conquest they would gladly exchange for the security of their own freedom¹.

Their doubts still increasing, the elders in a brief *lyrical dialogue* are discussing not without contempt the alleged evidence for the victory, when they observe the approach of the herald and other signs of an arrival (vv. 481—507). Their hope that 'what is now happily believed may be happily increased', is echoed in a very different sense by those to whom it is addressed.

The effect of the situation here much depends on the presence face to face of the elders and the objects of their suspicion. On the question whether one of the bystanders speaks, see on vv. 505—507.

Second Scene in Dialogue (vv. 508—685). The Herald, The Elders, Conspirators, and Clytaemnestra. The herald relates the destruction of Troy, the arrival of the king, and the storm.

Almost everything in the action of this scene has been sufficiently described in the preceding narrative. The queen is summoned from the palace and comes hastily to put an end to the dangerous conversation which has commenced. The abruptness of her entrance and opening (v. 592) is accommodated to the situation. The favourable comment upon her speech (vv. 618—619) must be assigned to one of her party, as is clearly shown by the reply from the other side. See note there.

Third Stasimon (vv. 686—773). The far-reaching consequences of crime, suggested by the fatal disaster just described. 'Again the application is apparently to Paris; again we feel that the sin of Agamemnon is present in the thought.'

March accompanying the Entrance of the King (vv. 774—800).

dulity that, as Mr Sidgwick says, she clearly refers. It may be added that however little she may know about the elders, she must know even less of the general feeling of the citizens, with whom she cannot possibly have had any communi-

cation on the subject.

¹ I have already noticed that the latter part of this chorus is of the utmost importance as giving to us now some of the essential facts of the supposed situation.

Here the effect of the scene depends entirely on the spectacular conditions. The king in his chariot, Cassandra, either with him or (according to the tradition) in a second chariot with spoils, and his following enter, accompanied by a crowd who seem to be giving them a triumphant welcome and expressing their sympathy (*v.* 781) with the sufferings which they have undergone. The effect of these sufferings would be visible in their appearance and action. The elders, from their knowledge of the persons, cannot but suspect the honesty of the demonstration. It is this startling suspicion, as already noticed, which dictates the strange topics of their first address. At the close of the march, the stage is so arranged, we may presume, as to suggest a multitude entirely filling it and extending beyond it. This is one of the many passages of Athenian drama which might be cited against the view, formerly prevalent but lately shaken by the archaeological discoveries of Dr Dörpfeld and others, that in the Greek theatre of the fifth century there was a high and narrow separate stage (*λογεῖον*) for the speakers as distinct from the rest of the company. For such a theatre such a scene as the text here suggests could scarcely have been composed.

Third Scene (*vv.* 801—965). Agamemnon and Clytaemnestra. The king enters the palace, commending Cassandra, who remains without, to a kind reception. Clytaemnestra follows.

See the preceding narrative. Here also the general action is important, particularly as to the effect of Agamemnon's haughty and threatening address, and of the invidious honours which he is compelled to accept. The device of the tapestry in particular, the purpose of which is intelligible only in its relation to the feelings of the crowd represented on the stage, would have occurred only to a dramatist who considered his whole company not less than his principal personages. When the king and queen have withdrawn into the palace with their immediate attendants the crowd of returned soldiers, conspirators, and others would for the most part disperse, the king's companions still watched by their pretended friends. The general appearance of the action is easily imagined, though it would be useless to attempt exact description. During these proceedings is sung the

Fourth Stasimon (*vv.* 966—1018). The friends of the king, though unable to fix their suspicions, are more anxious than ever.

Fourth Scene. Clytaemnestra, The Elders, Cassandra. Clytaemnestra orders Cassandra, who remains still in the chariot, to come within and join the intended sacrifice. Cassandra, whose appearance is that 'of a wild beast new-taken', pays no attention, and the queen instantly withdraws.

In this brief incident the chief point is the violent impatience of the queen, who here and here only loses her dignity and presence of mind. In truth her act in summoning Cassandra at this critical minute is an imprudent concession to her appetite for revenge (see *v.* 1448). Note also that, being now sure of her triumph, she can scarcely refrain from a sneer at the victims of her deception (*vv.* 1040—42).

Cassandra, by her prophetic power, in a series of visions sees the history of the Atridae, the crime of Atreus, and the murder of Aga-

memnon now imminent. Declaring his fate and her own to be inevitable, at last in despair she enters the palace.

"In this astonishing scene Aeschylus seems to have touched the limit of what speech can do to excite pity and terror. The cries come forth to Apollo, repeated louder and more wildly as the inspiration grows upon her; she smells the 'scent of murder on the walls' of the bloody house to which she comes as a prisoner, and visions rise, first of the past wickedness, then of the present; and lastly she bewails in songs of 'searching and melting beauty' her own piteous fate. The chorus sustain the part of the Argive citizen, sympathetic and horror-struck, and finally bewildered and overpowered by her clearer and clearer prophecies of the bloody deeds that are imminent." (Sidgwick.) Of the relation of this scene to the general effect of the play I have spoken already in the narrative. It should be observed however that here again the general action is essential to the comprehension of the spoken scene. Critics have objected (not unnaturally, if the play be read without reference to the action) to the helpless behaviour of the elders at the moment of the murder; and in fact long before this, as they are alarmed if not convinced (*v.* 1212) by Cassandra, their hesitation is only to be explained by a manifest impossibility of acting to any effect. But in truth they appear helpless because they are so and know it. From the previous incidents and the present situation of affairs it is plain that if the king is truly in danger, then also they themselves are prisoners. They would not have been suffered either to enter the palace or to leave the fortress. It is not at all unnatural that old men in such a situation should be utterly paralysed, but it is by the action more than by the words that the situation is portrayed.

Fifth Scene (*vv.* 1342—1576). Clytaemnestra, The Elders, etc. The dying cry of Agamemnon is heard within, and while the elders are still pretending to consider the situation, the palace is thrown open and discloses Clytaemnestra standing over the bodies of her two victims.

From the language of the elders (*vv.* 1353—1356), it is evident that other signs, besides the king's cry, declare the triumph of the plot. In fact the stage, in Greek parlance the *orchestra*, rapidly fills again with the exultant crowd and the indignant few (see *vv.* 1400—1411), among these some of the fighting-men returned from Troy who are disposed at the last (*vv.* 1625, 1633 etc.) to try a desperate struggle. With regard to the majority of the soldiers, we are manifestly to suppose them surprised and slain (as in Homer) at the moment of Agamemnon's murder. In an ancient Greek state a ship-load of veterans, if allowed fair play, would have been masters of the situation, and the tyrants dared not spare them, if they would. It is this which explains and justifies the prominence and pathos given to the character of the herald, whose part is in every way superior to that of the king. From his entrance to his exit (see *vv.* 508—512, 572—577, 655—657, 676—677) his language is ominous. And in truth he is actually near to death, and is thus a tragic character as much as the rest.

A curious question arises here as to the exact manner in which the king's death is represented. Modern readers infer from the text that the interior of the palace is not shown to the audience until Agamemnon and Cassandra are lying dead; and the inference seems natural though not necessary. On the other hand the Greek hypothesis says expressly that 'Aeschylus is peculiar in representing Agamemnon as

killed upon the stage—*ιδίως δὲ Αἰσχύλος τὸν Ἀγαμέμνονα ἐπὶ σκηνῆς ἀναιρεῖσθαι ποιεῖ*: and as the text does not suggest this, it is one of the few points in the hypothesis which might appear to rest on some independent tradition. The truth is that our knowledge of ancient scenery is not such as to warrant any positive assertion on details of this kind.

Clytaemnestra appears and fiercely justifies her act. She describes the manner of the king's death with cruel detail, answers invective with invective, and declares her reliance upon her partizans and upon the loyalty of Aegisthus. She even forces the lamenting elders to admit that as between her and her husband the justice of the case is doubtful (*v.* 1569). But a fresh explosion of feeling is produced by the entrance of Aegisthus himself, with his band (*λοχῆται v.* 1650).

The meeting of the triumphant lovers is left entirely to action, as is necessary. Conversation between them at such a moment and in such a presence would have been altogether out of place. From the fact that Aegisthus' speech is immediately preceded by a speech of Clytaemnestra it is clear that she does not leave the stage.

Finale. Aegisthus, Clytaemnestra, etc. Aegisthus claims to have merely procured his 'just restoration' to Argos (*v.* 1608), while avenging upon the son of Atreus the wrongs of his father and his own.

That Aegisthus does not come from the palace but on the contrary has just entered the country is shown not only by his address, but by the interval which occurs between the achievement of the murder and his appearance. Consistent in his 'prudent' plan he does not enter the fortress till the deed is actually done and all is safe.

This is too much for the friends of the king. Stung by their taunts Aegisthus calls on his ruffians to commence a massacre, when the queen, with hypocritical clemency, interposes to prevent an impolitic cruelty which might yet have endangered the success. 'Less,' she says, 'than blood-shed will serve the occasion' (*vv.* 1654—1664). Accordingly the elders are led away to imprisonment; and with this final triumph of Clytaemnestra the scene comes to an end.

4. *Critical Remarks.*

I hope I am not rash in thinking that the preceding exposition of the play does in its general outline fulfil the conditions; that is to say, the story is itself intelligible, and it explains why the drama is constructed as it is, and what are the relations of its parts to one another. As to the details I do not pretend to offer more than conjecture; on the

contrary I should maintain that this is the utmost which, in details, the state of our information permits, and that by better use of the materials others may, and certainly will, improve upon the suggestions here made. The outline will, I believe, be accepted after time for reflexion as certainly right; and I will even go so far as to say that the play would never in modern times of good literary judgment have been interpreted otherwise, if we had not allowed the imagination of the eleventh century, criticized and for the most part contemptuously rejected on other points, to rule us unquestioned upon this. It is not in the least surprising that the annotators of the Medicean MS. should have lost or corrupted the genuine tradition here as elsewhere, and that they should be wrong about the story, as they are wrong more often than not about the language and the meaning of the poet. Indeed if there is any department of criticism in which the scholars of that time are manifestly incompetent, it is the artistic part. We owe our whole knowledge of Aeschylus to their diligence; but we do not and must not obey them¹.

But indeed the question is not to my mind one of authority at all. On no authority, under the author himself, should it be believed, that any man conceived such a plot as the Byzantine editors attribute to Aeschylus: and if Aeschylus could say that such actually was his conception, we with the *Agamemnon* before us might well reply, that accident had singularly improved his design. As it is, the text of the play is the sole and sufficient authority for the poet's intention.

Nor is it ground for demur, that the Medicean hypothesis has continued to pass current during the two centuries at most (we might largely reduce the time) during which Aeschylus from a literary point of

¹ In this matter, as in many others, the MS. commentary actually preserves traces of the truth, though not understood by those who copied them down. On the first line it is observed in the Medicean scholia that *θεράπων Ἀγαμέμνονος ὁ προλογιζόμενος, οὐχὶ ὁ ὑπὸ Αἰγίσθου ταχθεὶς*. The comparison, as is pointed out by Hermann and others, is between the Watchman in Aeschylus, and the Watchman in Homer (see pp. xxviii, xxxiii). Now according to the story of Aeschylus as told in the Medicean hypothesis, there is no resemblance whatever between

the functions of these persons, and the comparison is pointless. But as a fact their functions are exactly analogous: in Aeschylus as in Homer the 'year-long watch' represents the duration of Aegisthus' plot, of which the Homeric watchman is a conscious instrument, the Aeschylean an unconscious. It is fair to suppose that the meaning of the note was known to the original writer, from whom it has found its way into the chaos of the Medicean commentary.

view has been efficiently studied in the West. Even the fifteenth century murmured¹: and it would indeed have been strange, if the readers of Shakespeare and of succeeding dramatists had accepted such a plot with satisfaction. But they never have so accepted it. On the contrary they have transmitted it with manifest discontent, actually concealing its absurdity, so far as possible, by artifice. If we add that until times within living memory the exponents of Aeschylus were necessarily and properly engrossed by the preliminary difficulties of language and grammar (Paley's edition was actually the first exception in English), we shall not accuse our instructors of adding much authority to a tradition which they would have been only too glad to disbelieve.

In reality the plot of the *Agamemnon* is perfectly coherent and natural. In one detail it is judiciously improbable. When, by the announcement of the herald, the queen's interpretation of the beacon is disproved, the elders would have acted most prudently if they had forthwith questioned him severely on the subject: and we may therefore, if we please, call it in a certain sense improbable that they should act otherwise. This 'improbability', as nothing would have been easier than to avoid it, the dramatist must be supposed to have sought. And he had good reason. It would have been a gross violation of the true and vital probabilities of the case, and a great loss to the dramatic interest, if he had represented the design of Aegisthus as never running near to failure. Only by the favour of circumstances, and of human blindness or weakness for one circumstance, could a design so audacious succeed at all: and Aeschylus has wisely chosen, that this ingredient of necessary chance shall not be concealed but exhibited.

In one other matter the dramatist has disregarded, not indeed probability (very far from it), but a certain expectation, which we, accustomed to the modern conditions of the stage, might have formed from the course of the play. A modern playwright, having to tell all his story for himself, would have thought it desirable, by way of accenting the construction and rounding off the development, to introduce, after the triumph of the plot, a plain description of the artifice by which it was conducted, or at least an allusion to it, such as appears in the *Choephori*. The absence of any such allusion in the *Agamemnon* (for the passing glance of Clytaemnestra in v. 1436 is not sufficient to

¹ Schol. in *Cod. Flor.* to v. 509 τινὲς μέμφονται τῷ ποιήτῃ ὅτι αὐθήμερον ἐκ Τροίας ποιεῖ τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἤκοντας.

suggest anything of itself and is actually destroyed by a prevalent alteration of the text) facilitated the error of the mediaeval editors and has made it more difficult of detection. But manifestly, in the matter of truth and nature, Aeschylus is right. In the first outbreak of anger and defiance neither victors nor vanquished would fall to discussing or describing the device by which the contest was lost and won. The first address of Aegisthus to his Argive supporters and subjects turns naturally upon what he alleges for the rights of his cause: and it is only because he is too violent and vain-glorious to govern his tongue, that he touches at all upon the inopportune topic of his stratagem (*v.* 1608). Before a modern audience, who did not know the story, Aegisthus would very likely have been made to narrate his plan and its success, although in real life he would not do so, simply lest some of the spectators should be left in the dark. Aeschylus, by the conditions of his art, was spared the necessity of this misrepresentation.

What points have been added to the story by the dramatist himself, we can scarcely guess and have little interest in knowing. But it is likely that those incidents, which would be effective on the stage only, were invented for the stage; and for this reason we may refer to this origin the whole apparatus of the king's entrance, including the laying of the tapestry, the whole vision of Cassandra, and in any case certainly the ἀπειρον ἀμφίβληστρον, in which at the last moment the victim is enfolded. This curious device is to the plot of the *Agamemnon* so unimportant, that if the play had survived alone, we might well have wondered why it is introduced. But the question is answered in the *Choephoroi*, where one of the best scenes is the exhibition of the garment by Orestes, after he has avenged the murder which it served to commit¹. It is there used, as Antony uses the robe of Caesar, and with similar dramatic effect. For the sake of this scene and of the closely connected reference in the *Eumenides* (*v.* 463), it is introduced and made prominent in the *Agamemnon*. It serves also, by its appearance in the sequel as evidence of the crime, to fix attention upon the part of Clytaemnestra, with whom only, and not with Aegisthus, the moral interest of the story is concerned. The stratagem of the beacon was, we may say, certainly not first introduced into the story by the tragedian. If it had been, it would not be presented as it is. Who was the inventor, it is useless to ask. Possibly some one not more deserving of remembrance than some of the romancers who supplied material to

¹ *Cho.* 971 foll.

Shakespeare. To the essential originality of the poet such questions are of course immaterial.

Indeed it would be a grave mistake to exaggerate the importance, in a literary aspect, of the whole subject which has been set forth, at great but I trust not unpardonable length, in this introduction. Undoubtedly the main purpose of the poet, or at any rate his chief value for us now, lies in things almost independent of his story, in the majesty and beauty of his language, in the bold delineation of character, and in the deep moral feeling with which the whole subject is coloured. To the temporary object of winning the prize, which we may guess that Aeschylus did not undervalue, the difference between an absurd and an effective plot would be vital: nor can it be thought indifferent to the mere reader, whether the beginning of the play has or has not any intelligible connexion with the middle and end of it. But I would not for my own sake leave the impression, that I have proportioned the topics to my estimate of their permanent significance. The story of the *Agamemnon*, once understood, might with justice to Aeschylus be stated and dismissed in a brief summary. The critical discussion of it is required only by the present state of the subject. It is however required now; and for this reason only I hope to be excused, if I seem unduly to neglect other matters of not less moment, upon which I have nothing to say which has not been excellently said before.

5. *The Text.*

The text of the *Agamemnon* depends mainly upon two MSS. The *Mediceus* (M) should be regarded as the sole authority for those parts which it contains (*vv.* 1—322 and *vv.* 1051—1158). Only one MS. of any value, the *Florentinus* (f) contains the whole play, and for nearly one half of it (*vv.* 361—1052) this is necessarily the sole authority. Fortunately it appears to represent M very closely. Cases such as *v.* 23, where the genuine *φᾶος* of M could not be recognized in the conjectural supplement (*νῦν φῶς*) of f, are rare. One other MS., the *Farnesianus* (h), contains the whole play, but it is worthless. Its very numerous variations are, in the great majority of cases, manifestly conjectures upon a text derived from M. Before therefore any weight can be assigned to its variation in a particular place, it must appear that the reading cannot be merely conjectural, that is, it must be such as the corrector could not have propounded for sense—a condition not

easy to be fulfilled. All critics put the MS. very low, but the only logical course is to ignore it altogether. I have cited it only so far as seemed sufficient to show its character.

Two of the imperfect MSS., *Marcianus Bessarionis* (a) and *Venetus* (g) include parts of the play not in M, the first a few lines (vv. 323—360), the second a large piece (v. 1159—the end), but neither gives much assistance which cannot be had from the *Florentinus*. The MSS. are cited as in the apparatus of Wecklein (ed. 1885), to whom I would repeat the acknowledgments made in my edition of the *Septem*.

ΑΙΣΧΥΛΟΥ ΑΓΑΜΕΜΝΩΝ.

ΑΓΑΜΕΜΝΟΝΟΣ ΤΥΠΟΘΕΣΙΣ¹.

Ἀγαμέμνων εἰς Ἴλιον ἀπιὼν τῇ Κλυταιμῆστρᾳ, εἰ πορθήσοι τὸ Ἴλιον, ὑπέσχετο τῆς αὐτῆς ἡμέρας σημαίνειν διὰ τοῦ πυρσοῦ. ὅθεν σκοπὸν ἐκάθισεν ἐπὶ μισθῷ Κλυταιμῆστρα, ἵνα τηροῖ τὸν πυρσόν. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἰδὼν ἀπήγγειλεν, αὐτῇ δὲ τῶν πρεσβυτῶν ὄχλον μεταπέμπεται, περὶ τοῦ πυρσοῦ ἐροῦσα· ἐξ ὧν καὶ ὁ χορὸς συνίσταται· οἷτινες ἀκούσαντες παιανίζουσιν. μετ' οὐ πολὺ δὲ καὶ Ταλθύβιος παραγίνεται καὶ τὰ κατὰ τὸν πλοῦν διηγείται. Ἀγαμέμνων δ' ἐπὶ ἀπῆνης ἔρχεται· εἶπετο δ' αὐτῷ ἑτέρα ἀπῆνη, ἔνθα ἦν τὰ λάφυρα καὶ ἡ Κασάνδρα. αὐτὸς μὲν οὖν προεισέρχεται εἰς τὸν οἶκον σὺν τῇ Κλυταιμῆστρᾳ, Κασάνδρα δὲ προμαντεύεται, πρὶν εἰς τὰ βασίλεια εἰσελθεῖν, τὸν ἑαυτῆς καὶ τοῦ Ἀγαμέμνονος θάνατον καὶ τὴν ἐξ Ὀρέστου μητροκτονίαν, καὶ εἰσπηδᾷ ὡς θανουμένη, ρίψασα τὰ στέμματα. τοῦτο δὲ τὸ μέρος τοῦ δράματος θαυμάζεται ὡς ἐκπληξίᾳ ἔχον καὶ οἶκτον ἱκανόν. ἰδίως δὲ Αἰσχύλος τὸν Ἀγαμέμνονα ἐπὶ σκηνῆς ἀναιρεῖσθαι ποιεῖ, τὸν δὲ Κασάνδρας σιωπήσας θάνατον νεκρὰν αὐτὴν ὑπέδειξεν, πεποιθήκέν τε Αἴγισθον καὶ Κλυταιμῆστραν ἑκάτερον δισχυριζόμενον περὶ τῆς ἀναιρέσεως ἐνὶ κεφαλαίῳ, τὴν μὲν τῇ ἀναιρέσει Ἰφιγενείας, τὸν δὲ ταῖς τοῦ πατρὸς Θυέστου ἐξ Ἀτρέως συμφοραῖς.

ἐδιδάχθη τὸ δράμα ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος Φιλοκλέους ἐλυμπιάδι ὀγδοηκοστῇ ἔτει δευτέρῳ (B.C. 458). πρῶτος Αἰσχύλος Ἀγαμέμνονι, Χοηφόροις, Εὐμένισι, Πρωτῇ σατυρικῷ. ἐχορήγει Ξενοκλῆς Ἀφιδνεύς.

ΤΑ ΤΟΥ ΔΡΑΜΑΤΟΣ ΠΡΟΣΩΠΑ¹.

ΦΥΛΑΞ.
ΧΟΡΟΣ.
ΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ.
ΚΛΥΤΑΙΜΗΣΤΡΑ.
ΤΑΛΘΥΒΙΟΣ ΚΗΡΥΞ.
ΑΓΑΜΕΜΝΩΝ.
ΚΑΣΑΝΔΡΑ.
ΑΙΓΙΣΘΟΣ.

¹ See the Preface and Introduction.

ΑΙΣΧΥΛΟΥ ΑΓΑΜΕΜΝΩΝ.

ΦΥΛΛΞ.

Θεοὺς μὲν αἰτῶ τῶνδ' ἀπαλλαγὴν πόνων
 φρουρᾶς ἐτείας μῆκος, ἦν κοιμώμενος
 στέγαις Ἀτρειδῶν ἄγκαθεν, κυνὸς δίκην,
 ἄστρον κάτοιδα νυκτέρων ὁμήγυριν
 καὶ τοὺς φέροντας χεῖμα καὶ θέρος βροτοῖς,
 λαμπροὺς δυνάστας ἐμπρέποντας αἰθέρι,
 ἀστέρας, ὅταν φθίνωσιν, ἀντολὰς τε τῶν·
 καὶ νῦν φυλάσσω λαμπάδος τὸ σύμβολον,
 αὐγὴν πυρὸς φέρουσιν ἐκ Τροίας φάτιν

5

1—322. Readings of M.

2. δ' ἦν.

1. μὲν...καὶ νῦν (8)...νῦν δέ (20). 'I have long been praying for release, and still am watching, but this time I hope to be answered.'

2. κοιμώμενος στέγαις ἄγκαθεν. See Appendix A.

4—7. ἄστρον ὁμήγυριν καὶ τοὺς φέροντας...ἀστέρας *the whole company of constellations, and in particular them who, conspicuously bright like princes in the sky, bring winter and summer to man, the great stars, the times of their setting and the risings thereof.* ἀστήρ as opposed to ἄστρον is properly a great star, and here stands for the great and familiar stars which mark the seasons. (This is substantially Hermann's view.) For καὶ

cf. *Pers.* 751 θεῶν δὲ πάντων ᾤετ' οὐκ εὐβουλία καὶ Ποσειδῶνος κρατήσιν (Housman *J. Phil.* xvi. 246: Mr Housman would transpose vv. 6, 5, but I think this deprives the description λαμπροὺς...αἰθέρι of its point; it is the great constellations, not all the stars, which are *conspicuous, πρέπονσι*).—To those (Valcknaer) who condemn v. 7 as spurious, it is rightly replied that the demonstrative τῶν is not the style of an interpolator (Housman). There is no evidence against the verse except the rarity of the initial dactyl, which is not conclusive. That it is omitted by Achilles Tatius, who cites vv. 4—6, is not evidence, as a quotation need not run to the end of a sentence.

ἀλώσιμόν τε βάξιν·—ὧδε γὰρ κρατεῖ
 γυναικὸς ἀνδρόβουλον ἐλπίζον κέαρ·
 εὖτ' ἂν δὲ νυκτίπλαγκτον ἔνδροσόν τ' ἔχω
 εὐνήν ὀνείροις οὐκ ἐπισκοπούμενην
 ἐμήν (φόβος γὰρ ἀνθ' ὕπνου παραστατεῖ
 τὸ μὴ βεβαίως βλέφαρα συμβαλεῖν ὕπνῳ),

10

15

10. ἀλώσιμον: news of the capture: cf. *Theb.* 622 ἀλώσιμον παιᾶνα 'a cheer for the capture' (Wecklein).—ὧδε κρατεῖ, *this it is to be commanded by*, literally 'thus uses power'; see *v.* 942 τὸν κρατοῦντα μαλθακῶς.

11. γυναικὸς...κέαρ: 'one who meddles in the business of man with the sanguine feelings of a woman': cf. *Theb.* 182 μέλει γὰρ ἀνδρὶ, μὴ γυνὴ βουλευέτω τᾷξωθεν.—γυναικὸς is generic (not 'the lady' i.e. Clytaemnestra), and ἐλπίζον κέαρ a generic description of woman.—ἐλπίζον, wider than *hope*, includes fancy, imagination, etc. So ἐλπίζω often means *to imagine*.—Note that ἐλπίζον is a constant epithet, ἀνδρόβουλον (= ἀνδρόβουλον ὄν) particular to the occasion, the regular use of double epithets in Aeschylus.—The speaker is disposed to regard his strange occupation as due to some wild freak of the queen's capricious fancy and feminine imagination; hence the sarcastic allusion, which follows, to her 'dreams'. A similar thought occurs to the elders (*v.* 286); and see Clytaemnestra's pretended description of herself as dreaming anxious dreams about Agamemnon (*v.* 882).

12—19 is one period, the construction being εὖτ' ἂν...ἔχω, ὅταν δοκῶ, κλαίω τότε. In *v.* 16 δέ, like δ' ὅν, marks merely resumption after the parenthesis.

13. εὐνήν...ἐμήν 'the couch where no dream visits me'. ἐμήν, emphatic in itself, is here emphasized strongly by position in the sentence and verse, importing a contrast between the speaker and some one else, whom dreams do visit. The context points the allusion. The dreams

of the mistress condemn the poor servant to a couch, where dreams would be only too welcome!—ἐμήν is commonly treated as inexplicable and corrupt, but, as I think, without reason.

14—15. *For, instead of sleep, I am haunted by the fear, that by sleep I might close my eyes for ever, that is, 'might suffer death, if I missed the signal or were caught neglecting my watch', the queen like Creon in the Antigone (οὐχ ὕμιν Ἀιδῆς μούνος ἀρκέσει 308) having, we may presume, threatened this penalty.—For the popular euphemism 'lasting sleep' for 'death' see *v.* 1450 τὸν αἰεὶ ὕπνον, *v.* 1293 ὄμμα συμβαλῶ τόδε.—βεβαίως lit. permanently, lastingly, as in πλοῦτος ἄδικος οὐ βέβαιος etc. The use of the softer word instead of the more explicit ἐς αἰεὶ adds to the euphemism a touch of rough humour.—τὸ μὴ κτλ. The clause depends upon and explains the emphatic substantive φόβος. Cf. Eur. *Med.* 184 φόβος (ἐστίν) εἰ πείσω, and for the form of the clause Plato *Laws* 943 D χρὴ πᾶσαν ἐπιφέροντα δίκην ἀνδρὶ πάντ' ἀνδρα φοβεῖσθαι τὸ μὴ ἐπενεγκεῖν ψευδῇ τιμωρίαν ('in inflicting punishment a man should always have before him the fear of inflicting a wrong penalty'). The infinitive with the article puts into substantial form the ordinary dependent clauses μὴ συμβαλῶ, μὴ ἐπενεγκῇ.—The repetition ἀνθ' ὕπνου...ὕπνῳ is clearly proper, if not necessary, to the point.—The common interpretation is this: 'for I have with me fear instead of sleep, so that I cannot go to sleep soundly'. But a great number of emendations show the just objections made to this, τὸ...ὕπνῳ*

ὅταν δ' αἰδεῖν ἢ μινύρεσθαι δοκῶ,
 ὕπνου τόδ' ἀντίμολπον ἐντέμνων ἄκος,
 κλαίω τότ' οἴκου τοῦδε συμφορὰν στένων,
 οὐχ ὥς τὰ πρόσθ' ἄριστα διαπονουμένον.—
 νῦν δ' εὐτυχῆς γένοιτ' ἀπαλλαγὴ πόνων 20
 εὐαγγέλου φανέντος ὀρφναίου πυρός.

ὦ χαῖρε λαμπτήρ, νυκτὸς ἡμερήσιον
 φάος πιφαύσκων καὶ χορῶν κατάστασιν
 πολλῶν ἐν Ἀργεῖ, τῇσδε συμφορᾷς χάριν.
 ἰοῦ ἰοῦ. 25

Ἀγαμέμνωνος γυναικὶ σημαίνω τορῶς,
 εὐνῆς ἐπαντείλασαν ὥς τάχος δόμοις
 ὀλολυγμὸν εὐφημοῦντα τῇδε λαμπάδι
 ἐπορθριάξιν, εἴπερ Ἰλίου πόλις
 ἐάλωκεν, ὥς ὁ φρυκτὸς ἀγγέλλων πρέπει· 30

30. ἀγγέλλων.

is then worse than superfluous, and the weakest word in it (*ὑπνω*) has the place of emphasis. Moreover the supposed syntax is faulty: *παραστατεῖ* cannot govern such a consecutive clause, as if it were *ἐργεῖ* or *κωλύει*: and if the clause depends on *φόβος*, it cannot be consecutive.

17. 'thus making of song one remedy against sleep', using song among (*ἐν*) other things to keep myself awake. *τέμνειν* was the technical term for shredding the roots, herbs etc. compounded in drugs (Blomfield, and see L. and Sc. s. v.).

19. ...*put to work not so good altogether as in old times*. The passive *πονείσθαι* (*πόνον*) signifies *to be worked at*, *πόνος* being technical for any exercise or task-work. So the deponent *διαπονείσθαι* is the regular word for a professional practice.—There is a double meaning in this cautious phrase, depending on the ambiguity of *οἶκος* between *household* and *house*. Under the mere grumble of the servant lies the same suggestion as in

v. 37.—The rendering 'managed, administered' (L. and Sc. s. v. *διαπονείσθαι*) is incorrect.

21. *ὀρφναίου πυρός* 'fire of the darkness', i.e. which the darkness keeps and will not disclose.

25. He calls as to awaken the slumbering house. Hence *σημαίνω* in v. 26. —*σημανῶ* recc.

27. *δόμοις* 'for the house', i.e. on behalf of the household.

28. *λαμπάδι*, dependent on *ἐπορθριάξιν*, 'upon' i.e. 'in honour of' its appearance.

29. *ἐπορθριάξιν* 'to sing as a morning song' (*ὄρθριος*), pursuing the train of metaphor suggested by *ἡμερήσιον φάος*, *ἐπαντείλασαν* etc.—*ἐπορθριάξιν* recc. I cannot but think the modern editors wrong in generally adopting this injurious change, probably a mere error. The associations of *ὄρθιος*, *shrill*, *high*, and of the *ὄρθιος νόμος*, are as foreign to the passage as *ὄρθριος* is appropriate.

30. ὁ 'the (expected) beacon': cf. τὸ σύμβολον in v. 8.

αὐτός τ' ἔγωγε φροῖμιον χορεύσομαι.
τὰ δεσποτῶν γὰρ εὖ πεσόντα θήσομαι
τρὶς ἕξ βαλούσης τῆσδέ μοι φρυκτωρίας.

γένοιτο δ' οὖν μολόντος εὐφιλῇ χέρα
ἄνακτος οἴκων τῇδε βαστάσαι χερί.
τὰ δ' ἄλλα σιγῶ, βοῦς ἐπὶ γλώσση μέγας
βέβηκεν· οἶκος δ' αὐτός, εἰ φθογγὴν λάβοι,
σαφέστατ' ἂν λέξειεν· ὥς ἐκὼν ἐγὼ
μαθοῦσιν αὐδῶ κού μαθοῦσι λήθομαι.

35

ΧΟΡΟΣ.

Δέκατον μὲν ἔτος τόδ' ἐπεὶ Πριάμφ
μέγας ἀντίδικος,

40

32. τὰ-δεσποτῶν-εὖ-πεσόντα θήσομαι
'my lord's good fortune I shall score to
my game', *i.e.* regard it as my own:
οικεύσομαι schol. So *vice versa* χρηστοῖσι
δούλοις συμφορά τὰ δεσποτῶν κακῶς πί-
νοντα (Eur. *Med.* 54), apparently an imi-
tation. Cf. στέργειν δὲ τάκπεσόντα καὶ
θέσθαι (accept and score) πρέπει (Soph.
fr. 686), and Horace, 'quod fors dierum
cumque dabit, lucro *ἀρρhone*'. So also
Wecklein.—Others take εὖ πεσόντα as
predicate, 'I shall reckon fortunate'; but
on such a question the Greek tradition
seems entitled to respect.

33. τρὶς ἕξ: the best possible throw
with *three* cubical dice.

36. βοῦς...βέβηκε. 'I have weighty
reasons for silence', *i.e.* the fear of
punishment and of losing, if overheard,
the reward of his service. This is clearly
the general meaning: παροιμία ἐπὶ τῶν
μὴ δυναμένων παρρησιάζεσθαι, Hesychius.
So also βοὺς μοι ἐπὶ γλώσση κρατερῶ ποδὶ
λάξ ἐπιβαίνων ἴσχει κωτίλλειν καίπερ ἐπι-
στάμενον Theogn. 850.—The origin of a
proverb is a most uncertain speculation.
Of many conjectures made upon this, the
latest (Wecklein), that it is an allusion to
the *limas βείεος*, or ox-leather scourge,

with which slaves were punished, seems
as probable as any. There is no positive
evidence on the subject. After all, it was
perhaps merely a metaphor, based on the
common use of βοῦς, as a type of size, in
the form of a prefix (cf. βοῦ-παις, βου-
μελία etc.).

37. He glances at the queen's adul-
tery.

39. *It is my intention to have meaning
for those (only) who understand, while
those who do not may think that I do not
see*, literally 'I am (willingly) unobservant
for those who do not understand'. λήθομαι
is here the passive answering to the active
λανθάνει με τοῦτο 'I do not observe this'.
—On the interval between this speech
and the entrance of the Chorus of Elders
see the Introduction.

40. Πριάμφ: the dative depends pri-
marily on ἀντίδικος (cf. ἀντίτυπος, ἀντι-
παλος etc.) and more generally, as dative
of relation, on the whole following sen-
tence.—Πριάμου recc., a mistaken change.
—The singular ἀντίδικος includes both
brothers as one 'party' to the suit, Mene-
laus having precedence, as the wrong was
strictly his (Sidgwick).

Μενέλαος ἄναξ ἡδ' Ἀγαμέμνων,
 διθρόνου Διόθεν καὶ δισκήπτρου
 τιμῆς ὄχυρὸν ζεῦγος Ἀτρεΐδαιν,
 στόλον Ἀργείων χιλιοναύτην 45
 τῇσδ' ἀπὸ χώρας
 ἦραν, στρατιῶτιν ἄρωγῇν—
 μέγαν ἐκ θυμοῦ κλάζοντες Ἀρη,
 τρόπον αἰγυπιῶν, οἷτ' ἐκπατίοις
 ἄλγεσι παίδων ὑπατοὶ λεχέων 50
 στροφοδινούνται,
 πτερύγων ἐρετμοῖσιν ἐρεσσόμενοι,
 δεμνιοτήρη
 πόνον ὀρταλίχων ὀλέσαντες·
 ὑπατος δ' αἶων ἢ τις Ἀπόλλων 55
 ἢ Πὰν ἢ Ζεὺς οἰωνόθροον
 γόον ὀξυβόαν
 τῶνδε μετοίκων ὑστερόποινον
 πέμπει παραβᾶσιν Ἑρινύν.
 οὕτω δ' Ἀτρέως παῖδας ὁ κρείσσων 60

44. Ἀτρεΐδαν.

44. Ἀτρεΐδαιν Dindorf.

45. χιλιοναύτην of a thousand crews.

49—51. See Appendix B.

54. πόνον ὀρταλίχων: gen. of equivalent, 'the brood, their care'.

55. ὑπατος echoes ὑπατοὶ in v. 50 and leads up to the figure μετοίκων. The birds are 'licensed dwellers' in the high abodes of the gods.—*Apollo* as god of augury, *Pan* of animal life, *Zeus* of universal right. (Schneidewin.)—The appearance of the humble *Pan* in the company of these great Olympians is a characteristic of the time. See on *Theb.* 132.

56. οἰωνόθροον...ὀξυβόαν: see on v. 11.

58. τῶνδε μετοίκων (ὄντων) 'of them, because they are their μέτοικοι', and entitled to their protection: "dieser, die ihre μέτοικοι sind, wie *Soph. El.* 790 πρὸς τῇσδ' ὑβρίξῃ μητρός (von dieser, die deine Mutter sein will)" Wecklein.—The

difficulty raised by Hermann against τῶνδε arises from not observing the predicative force of μετοίκων.—ὑστερόποινον: 'punishing in after time' i.e. 'soon or late', in the end, though the vengeance may be deferred. Probably it was the popular belief that such youthful cruelties (note παίδων) were especially liable to be avenged in kind, by refusing children to the offenders or taking their children away. Cf. *Soph. Ant.* 1074 τούτων σε λωβητῆρες ὑστεροφθόροι λοχῶσιν Ἀιδου καὶ θεῶν Ἑρινύες, ἐν τοῖσιν αὐτοῖς τοῖσδε ληφῆναι κακοῖς.

60. ὁ κρείσσων.....ξένιος Ζεὺς their mightier Zeus, the guardian of hospitality (ὁ κρείσσων referring back to the Zeus of the birds, v. 56), mightier as representing a stronger claim, since the faith of the ξένος, outraged by Paris, was the very strongest of obligations in a religious point of view.

ἐπ' Ἀλεξάνδρῳ πέμπει ξένιος
 Ζεὺς, πολυνόρος ἀμφὶ γυναικὸς
 πολλὰ παλαίσματα καὶ γυιοβαρῇ,
 γόνατος κονίαισιν ἐρειδομένου
 διακναιομένης τ' ἐν προτελείοις
 κάμακος, θήσων Δαναοῖσιν
 Τρωσί θ' ὁμοίως.—ἔστι δ' ὅπη νῦν
 ἔστι· τελεῖται δ' ἐς τὸ πεπρωμένον·
 οὐθ' ὑποκαίων οὐθ' ὑπολείβων,
 οὔτε δακρύων, ἀπύρων ἱερῶν
 ὀργὰς ἀτενεῖς παραθέλξει.

65

70

69. ὑποκλαίων.

61. ἐπ' Ἀλεξάνδρῳ to punish the triumphant Paris. On ἐπί of the object of an action, see on *Theb.* 531, 701.—On the name Ἀλέξανδρος see on v. 714.

62. πολυνόρος *won* (not *wooed*) by many, a woman that could not be faithful to one. For the contemptuous force of the epithet here cf. *vv.* 790 foll.

65. προτελείοις properly *ritual preceding marriage*, used here with irony, the war being the προτέλεια through which Helen must be finally won.—As this comparison is clearly the point of the sentence, it is very curious that the language should present in detail so close a parallel to the old marriage-custom made familiar by Raphael's *Espousal of the Virgin* (*Sposalizio*, at the Brera, Milan). At the ceremony young men *broke sticks across their knees*. The figure in the foreground to the right of the picture will be easily recollected. The 'knee to the ground' and the 'snapping of the rod' (for in κάμαξ the sense of spear-shaft is only secondary) are exactly the expressions which would have been chosen from this point of view to draw a parallel between προτέλεια and war. I am not aware of any other evidence for referring the custom to Aeschylus' time, but the resemblance deserves notice and is not likely, in my

judgment, to be accidental.—The motive of the custom may have been the common one of averting the evil eye. To this motive is assigned a somewhat similar Indian custom, to which I am referred by Mr J. G. Frazer: "on déchire une toile en deux devant les yeux des deux mariés, et on en jette les morceaux des deux côtés opposés. Sonnerat, *Voyage aux Indes et à la Chine*, I. p. 78."

67. δέ refers to μέν in v. 40. 'In all this time we see no accomplishment (*the matter stands as it doth*) though it will end as it must.'

69—71. *By no increase of fuel or libation, and by no tears, may one overcome the stubbornness of a sacrifice that will not burn.* παραθέλξει, 2nd pers. sing. fut. mid., the 2nd person being used, as often in English and in Greek, for the indefinite. The schol. λείπει τὸ τίς, though bad in grammar, is right as to the meaning. The sentiment is general and expands, in the form of a metaphor probably proverbial, the preceding words τελεῖται ἐς τὸ πεπρωμένον. Without metaphor the meaning is "if fate is against you, you may struggle in vain". To which party in the present contest this doctrine applies, whether the sin of Paris or the sin of Agamemnon will most affect the event, the speakers do not

ἡμεῖς δ' ἀτίται σὰρκι παλαιᾷ
 τῆς τότε ἄρωγῆς ὑπολειφθέντες
 μίμνομεν ἰσχὺν
 ἰσόπαιδα νέμοντες ἐπὶ σκήπτροις.
 ὃ τε γὰρ νεαρὸς μυελὸς στέρνων
 ἐντὸς ἀνάσσων
 ἰσόπρεσβυς (Ἄρης δ' οὐκ ἐνὶ χώρᾳ),
 τί θ' ὑπεργήρως; φυλλάδος ἥδη

75

72. ἀτίται.

77. ἀνάσσων.

79. τίτεπεργήρως.

determine.—**ὑποκαίω** Casaubon. *ὑπό* expresses that the fire or fuel is put, and the wine or oil poured in, *under* the sacrifice to be burnt.—**ὄργας**: not precisely 'anger' but *mood*, almost *caprice*, as in Eur. *Med.* 121 χαλεπῶς ὄργας μεταβάλλουσιν, and frequently.—As to the form *παραθέλωμαι*, the middle has its regular quasi-reflexive force ('in commodum facientis') as in *παράγομαι*, *πρίσταμαι*, *παρηγορέομαι*, and other verbs of like meaning. Of this particular form *θέλωμαι* no other example is noted; but there is nothing to raise difficulty in this, as it will scarcely be supposed that our list of such futures is or could possibly become complete. The quasi-reflexive middle forms are always rare, from the nature of the case; thus of *ρήγνυμι*, a far commoner verb than *θέλω*, the examples in this mood and meaning are exceedingly few. For the *future* middle, Attic had a special predilection. All the commentators assume *παραθέλξει* here to be 3rd pers. active; but the difficulties thus arising are acknowledged by all, and appear to me insuperable. There is no subject to the verb, and the context supplies none, 'Paris' and 'Agamemnon', which are proposed, being both too remote. Note also that, if the sentence is general, we are released from the impossible task of finding any particular allusion in *ἀπύρων ἱερῶν*.—The correction *ἐπιλείβων* and the omission of *οὔτε δακρύων* are unnecessary.

72. **ἀτίται** (*δυντες*) if correct, is from *ἀτίτης*, 'one who does not pay, a defaulter'; *because with our outworn thews we made default* i.e. could not render our due service any more (Weil, H. L. Ahrens). But perhaps it should be read as dat. fem. sing. from *ἀτιτος* *disregarded, unvalued*, and corrected to **ἀτίτη** (Wecklein, comparing for the feminine termination, *Cho.* 617 *ἀθανάτας*, *Pers.* 599 *περικλύστα* etc.) Then the dative *ἀτ. σαρκὶ παλ.* is causal. It is not easy to choose.—**σάρξ** *muscle*, as in *Theb.* 609 *γέροντα τὸν νοῦν σάρκα δ' ἠβῶσαν*.

75. **ἰσόπαιδα**, 'equal to that of a child'. The compounds of *ἰσο-* preserve in the classical writers almost always the true sense of the word and are applied only to that which can be measured. The use for mere resemblance (as in *ἰσόπετρος* etc.) becomes common only in late Greek.

76—79. **τε...τε**: *as...so*.

77. **ἀνάσσων**. Hermann. The word suggests the pushing and shooting of young growth or sap (compare *ἀνέδραμεν ἔρνει ἴσος*), and answers to *φυλλάδος κατακαρφομένης*.

78. **Ἄρης δ' οὐκ ἐνὶ χώρᾳ**; this qualifies the parallel, to the disadvantage of the old; note **δέ**. 'The spirit of war' not being 'in the fort', children do not miss the strength they have not known.

79. **τί θ' ὑπεργήρως**; Enger. The rhetorical question is much more favoured in Greek than in English. For *τί* *antici-*

κατακαρφομένης τρίποδας μὲν ὁδοῦς
 στείχει, παιδὸς δ' οὐδὲν ἀρείων
 ὄναρ ἡμερόφατον ἀλαίνει.
 σὺ δέ, Τυνδάρεω
 θύγατερ, βασίλεια Κλυταιμῆστρα,
 τί χρέος; τί νέον; τί δ' ἐπαισθομένη,
 τίνος ἀγγελίας
 πειθοῖ περίπεμπτα θύος κινεῖς;
 πάντων δὲ θεῶν τῶν ἀστυνόμων,

80

85

87. θυοσκινεῖς (the first ε in an erasure).

pating a verb (στείχει) see *v.* 926.—**ὑπεργήρως** is properly a predicate (*ὑπεργήρως ὦν*) *what of it* (or *him*) *in sheer old age?*—τὸ θ' ὑπεργήρων Cod. Farn.

80. **μὲν...δὲ**: as if 'three feet' should have meant greater power.—**τρίποδας** *i.e.* ἐπὶ σκήπτροις.

81. **ἀρείων** echoes to Ἄρης in *v.* 78: Aeschylus probably connected the words in fancy.

82. **ὄναρ ἡμερόφατον** *a dream in daylight*. There seems to be no reason for rejecting ἡμερόφατος. It is sufficiently certified by the existence of *φάω* to *light*, and is in form parallel to *ἄκρατος*. There are two forms of the stem, *φᾶ* and *φᾱ*, as in *φᾶνερὸς*, *φᾱνός*: the preference of the long vowel in *-φατος* *lit* is natural, *-φᾶτος* having two other meanings, *said* and *slain*.—*ἡμερόφαντον* Farn. *ἡμερόφουτον* Ahrens.

83. The speaker "apostrophizes Clytemnestra, who remains within the house, as Ajax, lingering in his tent, is apostrophized in Soph. *Ai.* 134" (Wecklein). The form of apostrophe in both cases indicates the like impatience for the presence of the person addressed. It must not be supposed that Clytemnestra appears.—It is not without significance that the name of the queen is thus introduced together with that of her father. To be a daughter of this house was no good omen, and the speaker glances, as it were involuntarily, at the

reproach put more plainly by Agamemnon in *v.* 905.

87. **πειθοῖ**: literally 'from conviction of what report?' *i.e.* *by what report convinced?*—**περίπεμπτα** adverbial accusative, literally 'by the way of sending round'. The directions for sacrifice were sent not only to public places but generally throughout the country. See *v.* 599. From *v.* 96, we see that what was 'sent round' on such an occasion was not merely the message or order to sacrifice but materials from the sender, the prince or master, to aid the offering. Hence the point of noticing that the 'high flames' are 'persuaded' to rise by the rich oil or incense from the palace. It is a species of religious communion between the prince and the subject. The word *περίπεμπτα* was doubtless technical. It may be noted that the usage gave the queen in this instance an excellent opportunity for communicating unsuspected with her partizans.—**θύος κινεῖς** literally 'start' sacrifice, 'set it going'. I prefer this reading (Prién) to *θυοσκεῖν* (Auratus, Turnebus, and the majority) both as adhering to the MS., and as more appropriate to the facts (see *v.* 599). The sacrifices are not exactly those of the queen, but of her commanding.

88. **τῶν ἀστυνόμων**. The 'gods of the city' generally.

ὑπάτων, χθονίων,
 τῶν τ' οὐρανίων τῶν τ' ἀγοραίων,
 βωμοὶ δώροισι φλέγονται·
 ἄλλη δ' ἄλλοθεν οὐρανομήκης
 λαμπὰς ἀνίσχει,
 φαρμασσομένη χρίματος ἀγνοῦ
 μαλακαῖς ἀδόλοισι παρηγορίαις,
 πελάνῳ μυχόθεν βασιλείῳ.
 τούτων λέξασ' ὅ τι καὶ δυνατόν

90

95

90. τῶν τ' οὐρανίων τῶν τ' ἀγοραίων:
 a curious antithesis, apparently without parallel, as is also οἱ ἀγοραῖοι as a name for a class of gods. Οὐράνιος in Greek theology is an epithet of dignity, applying generally to the great Olympian deities. As applied to a single deity it signifies that the deity is viewed in a high or wide religious conception. Thus Ἀφροδίτη Οὐρανία is the patroness of chaste love, the great natural Right which sanctions filial love is ἡ Οὐρανία Θέμις (Soph. *El.* 1064), and the object of Hippolytus' mystic and ascetic devotion is ἡ Διὸς οὐρανία Ἄρτεμις (Eur. *Hipp.* 59). Thus also in Eur. *El.* 1235 θεοὶ οἱ οὐράνιοι is contrasted with δαίμονες τιναί, a lower term. There were everywhere vast numbers of 'deities', many of them much more popular than the exalted persons of the orthodox religion, who could not possibly have been termed οὐράνιοι, some of them little higher than fetiches. The so-called 'Hermæ' of Athens are an instance. Since then ἀγοραῖοι is here opposed to οὐράνιοι, we must seek in it a meaning antithetic to *sublime, high-exalted*. I would suggest that ἀγοραῖος, in this theological use, has not the local sense, but the equally common though secondary sense of *popular or familiar*, somewhat as in ἀγοραῖα ὀνόματα *familiar terms*, οἱ ἀγοραῖοι *the commonalty*, and that τῶν τ' οὐρανίων τῶν τ' ἀγοραίων means 'deities of every degree, the great gods and the low'. This is a quite different division from ὑπατοί-χθόνιοι,

'gods of the upper and the nether worlds'. It is no objection to this that we sometimes find the epithet Ἀγοραῖος attached to the name of an Olympian, a Zeus or Hermes Agoraios. It was and is the policy of great polytheistic religions to attach to themselves the lower cults in this way, as may again be illustrated by the application of the name *Hermæ* to objects of veneration much older than anthropomorphism.—τῶν...τῶν: the articles are added because ὑπάτων, χθονίων, οὐρανίων, ἀγοραίων would have the appearance of a fourfold division, instead of two antitheses, based on different principles.

94. ἀγνοῦ *hallowed*, not merely 'pure'. The poet has in view those costly χρίματα of foreign, chiefly Oriental, production, which even in his own time were scarcely used but for religious purposes.

95. παρηγορίαις: cf. παραθέλξει v. 71.—μαλακαῖς ἀδόλοισι, *in whose softness is no deceit*, contrasted epithets. Under this figure is suggested the hope, that the rejoicing, of which these things are a symbol, will not prove deceptive. But the speakers are unaware how very far from ἀδόλοι the queen's persuasions are.

97. ὅ τι...αἰνεῖν: *so far as thou canst and mayest consent* (to tell), supplied from λέξασα, not 'so far as thou canst and mayest tell (αἰνεῖν)'. In this sense αἰνεῖν for λέγειν is not used. So also Wecklein, "αἰνεῖν, sich zu etwas verstehen, zusagen".—λέξασα...παίων τε γενοῦ *i.e.* γενοῦ λέξασα παίων τε 'be the informant,

καὶ θέμις αἰνεῖν

παιῶν τε γενοῦ τῆσδε μερίμνης,
ἦ νῦν τοτὲ μὲν κακόφρων τελέθει,

100

τοτὲ δ' ἐκ θυσιῶν† ἀγανὰ φαίνεις

ἐλπίς ἀμύνει φροντίδ' ἄπλειστον

τὴν θυμοφθόρον λύπης φρένα.†

κύριός εἰμι θροεῖν—ὄδιον κράτος

στρ. α'.

αἷσιον ἀνδρῶν

105

ἐκτελέων· ἔτι γὰρ

and so the healer' etc. The periphrastic imperative, γενοῦ with aorist participle, is here seen in its original use, where it serves to express something not so easily put without it.—Others suppose that the sentence corresponding to παιῶν τε γενοῦ is lost by anacoluthon (Wecklein); but this, in so short a sentence, seems unnatural.

100. τελέθει properly 'results in being', i.e. 'is on the whole' or 'on the balance'. So in Eur. *Med.* 1095 εἶθ' ἡδὺ βροτοῖς, εἴτ' ἀνιαρὸν παῖδες τελέθουσι.

101—103. ἦτις ἐστὶ θυμοβόρος λύπη τῆς φρενὸς schol. on v. 103.—The reading is quite uncertain. ἀγανὴ Karsten. φανθεῖσ Pauw. As to the Doric form of ἀγανά, it is very doubtful whether in such points poetry was regular, and there are traces of a certain tendency in ν to retain the α-sound, like that regularly exercised by ρ. Thus we have in Attic writing ναμέρτης, ποιναῖ-τωρ, εὐνάτωρ, νᾶμα, εὐνάσιμος, κυναγός, ναός, νάιος.—For the last two lines Housman gives ἐλπίς ἀμύνει φροντίδ' ἄπληστον θυμοῦ, λυπησιφρονῶν ἄτην, which, as he shows (*J. Ph.* xvi. p. 250) might not improbably give rise to the MS. and schol.—ἀπληστον f.

104. κύριός εἰμι: they turn for relief to certainties, and to that which is still within their power, the narration of the past.

105. ὄδιον...ἐκτελέων (in apposition to θροεῖν, or rather to the notion κύριος εἶναι θροεῖν, 'narration is the privilege and gift

of old age'): an encouragement upon the way permitted to men whose vigour is past. ὄδιον and αἷσιον apply properly to a favourable omen on a march or journey. κράτος 'strength' i.e. 'that which strengthens', see on v. 299. The application of the metaphor to the journey of life is suggested partly by the foregoing thoughts (τρίποδας ὁδοὺς στείχει v. 80) but chiefly by the coming story, which relates to a ὄδιον κράτος αἷσιον in the literal sense of the words. In αἷσιον which means both *fortunate* and *permitted* (see αἶσα) there is a double suggestion.—ἐκτελής, here the opposite of ἐντελής, is a euphemism for *aged*: as ὁ ἐντελής is a man in his vigour or perfection, so ὁ ἐκτελής here is one who has passed that stage (cf. ἐξηβος). In Eur. *Ion* 780, by a different application of the notion 'finished' a young man is ἐκτελής νεανίας as opposed to a boy.—I think it clear that the parenthesis begins with ὄδιον, and not, as usually marked, with ἔτι. If ὄδιον...ἐκτελέων is referred directly to the omen afterwards related, there is no point in the epithet ἐκτελέων, however interpreted: and moreover the other punctuation is required by the general sense, for the speakers clearly mean that as old men they have the right to *narrate* (or *sing*), not the right to tell this particular story.

106—108: *for still their age draws from heaven inspired persuasion, which is the strength of song, i.e. in their eloquence the old retain a strength, when all other strength is gone.*—πειθῶ the essence and

θεόθεν καταπνεύει

πειθῶ, μολπᾶν

ἄλκαν, ξύμφυτος αἰών—

ὅπως Ἀχαιῶν

110

δίθρονον κράτος, Ἑλλάδος ἡβᾶν

ξύμφρονε τάγα,

πέμπει σὺν δορὶ καὶ χερὶ πράκτορι

θούριος ὄρνις Τευκρίδ' ἐπ' αἶαν,

οἰωνῶν βασιλεὺς

115

βασιλεύσει νεῶν ὁ κελαινὸς

107. καταπνε*ει.

112—114 inserted by corrector m in space left by M.

112. ξύμφρονα τὰν γὰν.

type of *rhetoric*. The thought of this passage, that mental and, as we might say, 'literary' gifts are the remaining consolation of old age, is closely illustrated, as well as the form of expression, by Eur. *H. F.* 673 foll. It may remind us that the poet was himself over sixty when the *Agamemnon* was composed.—**ξύμφυτος αἰών** 'the time born with them' or 'beginning from their birth', *i.e.* 'the age at which they are'; cf. ὁ ξυνεύδων χρόνος for 'the time of sleeping' *v.* 885 (Enger).—The abstraction 'age' is put for 'the aged' according to a common habit of the language.—**καταπνεύει** (or **καταπνέει**: the later MSS. have **καταπνέει**, in M the letter is uncertain; both forms are good) 'inhales, draws down breath' not 'breathes down upon'. The age of the singer could not be said to breathe persuasion upon him 'from the gods'. **πνέειν** and its compounds (see **ἐμπνέειν**, **εἰσπνέειν**, **ἀναπνέειν**) mean either 'inhale' or 'exhale' according to the context.—The forms in this passage are curiously ambiguous: **πειθῶ**, **μολπᾶν**, **άλκαν** are all uncertain in case, and the two last may easily be read as datives (**μολπᾷ**). Hence many corrections (see Wecklein), but the traditional accentuation appears to be correct.—Wecklein interprets **πειθῶ** to be the *confidence* or *trust* which encourages them to tell the following story. But the

sentiment should from the context be one applicable to old men in general.

111. **ῥβάν**: for the plural cf. Eur. *Ion* 476 τέκνων νεανίδες ἦβαι. An abstract used in concrete sense is sometimes singular, sometimes plural.—**Ἑλλάδος** substantive.—Aristophanes (*Frogs* 1285) citing the verse gives the singular, **Ἑλλάδος ἦβας**, but presumably by a slip.

112. **ξύμφρονε τάγα** (**τάγης**) or, as Dindorf, **ταγῶ** (**ταγός**). The dual is clearly required. The schol. **τὴν ὁμόφρονα περὶ τὰ τακτικά** assumes the abstract form **ξύμφρονα ταγᾶν** (**τᾶγή**), contrary to the metre.—The source of error was probably an accidental (or intentional, see on *v.* 1164) doubling of the γ. Hence **τάγγα**, **τάνγα**, **τὰν γὰν**.

113. **πέμπει** historic present.—**καὶ χερὶ** dropped accidentally from recurrence of the syllable -ρι, restored from Aristoph. *Frogs* 1288.

114. **θούριος ὄρνις** a gallant omen, transferring to the omen the feeling it produces.

115. **οἰωνῶν βασιλεὺς...φανέντες** the appearance of etc., in apposition to ὄρνις. See on *Theb.* 611.

116. The difference between the birds, the black and the white-backed, is doubtless symbolical. The meaning must depend on the reading and interpretation of *v.* 126.

ὃ τ' ἐξόπιν ἀργίας
 φάνέντες ἵκταρ μελάθρων
 χερὸς ἐκ δορυπάλτου
 παμπρέπτοις ἐν ἔδραισιν,
 βοσκόμενοι λαγίναν

120

117. **τε** because the aptness of the omen lay in the appearance of the two different birds together.—**δὲ** (Hartung) would of course be regular for 'one black and the other' etc., but is here alien from the meaning and inconsistent with the use of the singular **βασιλεύς**. With **δὲ** we should expect, as some would write, the plural **βασιλῆς**.—**ἀργίας** *white-marked*: the termination is common in words describing the marks of animals: cf. **ἐρυθρίας** (*έρυθρός*), **Ξανθίας** the slave-name (*ξανθός*), both like **ἀργίας** (*ἀργός*) from colours, **κοππατίας**, **στεμματίας** etc. It does not seem likely that a copyist should have introduced by error a form at once correct and peculiar.—**ἀργᾶς** (*ἀργάεις*, *ἀργήεις* *white*) Thiersch, for metre; but it cannot be proved that Aeschylus would not allow the pronunciation *arg-yas*.

119. **ἐκ δεξιᾶς**, ὃ ἐστὶν εὐσυνμβόλως, schol.—**δορυπάλτου**: 'spear-shaking' gen. of **δορυπάλτης**, cf. **λαγοδαλτης** *v.* 128. **δορυπάλτου** Turnebus. On mere questions of spelling I have followed the MS. It seems to me impossible to prove that Aeschylus could not have written the word as it is given, or that his spelling was always consistent.

121. **λαγίναν γένναν** *hares* (not a hare). For the periphrasis, in which **γέννα** means *stock* or *kind* (not *offspring*) cf. **ἀρσένων γέννα** *males* (Eur. *Med.* 428), **Κενταύρων γέννα** *Centaurs* (id. *H. F.* 365), **γέννα Φρυγῶν** *Phrygians* (id. *Tro.* 531), **σὰν Ἀσιητιδα γένναν** *thee, an Asiatic* (id. *Andr.* 1010).—**βοσκόμενοι...δρόμων** *feeding on hares, creatures full-teemed with young, which they had caught in the moment of escape, literally 'stopped from their last runs'*.—**ἐρικύματα** from **ἐρικύματος**,

cf. **πολυσπέρματος** (Theophrastus); these forms are rare in the older writers, but there is no reason to fix any particular date for their first appearance. The neuter plural stands in apposition to the plural phrase **λαγίναν γένναν**, the neuter (*things, creatures*) being used for pathos.—**δρόμων** is a true plural, the 'runs' of the hares respectively. This alone would show that **λαγίναν γένναν** is plural. When **δρόμοι** is used of a single subject, it means 'a series of courses, a running from place to place' (Aesch. *P.* V. 616, 814, Eur. *Iph. T.* 971), a meaning here excluded by **βλαβέντα** and the epithet **λοίσθιος** *last*.—The fact expressed in **βλαβέντα λoισθίων δρόμων** is part of the symbol. The Trojans were all but to escape their enemies, and were at last only caught by the pretence of abandoning the attempt.—I think the text here correct and simple. The assumptions which have created difficulty are (1) that **ἐρικύματα** is an error, (2) that the two birds have but one hare, inferred apparently from *v.* 142, where see note. As to (1), the schol. gives the interpretation **πολυκύμονα**, but this no more implies that the text had **κύμονα** than that it had **πολυ-**. The interpreter naturally uses the commoner form in both parts. (The possibility of the form **ἐρικύματος** seems to have been overlooked by the modern editors.) On these assumptions some read (with recc.) **ἐρικύμονα** (fem. sing.) **φέρματι**, and explain the gender of **βλαβέντα** (masc. sing.) as referring to the meaning (**τὸν λαγῶν**) of **λαγίναν γένναν**. But this is to play fast and loose with **τὸ σημαυνόμενον**. The meaning of **λαγίναν γένναν** is *ex hypothesi* feminine, and the fact that Greek had no distinct word for

ἐρικύματα φέρματι γένναν,
 βλαβέντα λοισθίων δρόμων.
 αἶλινον αἶλινον εἰπέ, τὸ δ' εὖ νικάτω.
 κεδνὸς δὲ στρατόμαντις ἰδὼν δύο ἀντ. α'. 125
 λήμασι δισσοὺς
 Ἀτρεΐδας μαχίμους
 ἐδάη λαγοδαίτας
 πομποὺς τ' ἀρχάς·
 οὕτω δ' εἶπε τεράζων· 130
 χρόνῳ μὲν ἀγρεῖ
 Πριάμου πόλιν ἄδε κέλευθος·
 πάντα δὲ πύργων

124. αἶλινον throughout.

128. λογοδαίτας.

the female hare is nothing to the matter. Others therefore (Turnebus, Hartung, etc.) read ἐρικύμονα φέρματα and interpret this either of the mother-hare, which φέρμα (*fetus*) will not admit, or of the unborn offspring, which βλαβέντα δρόμων will not admit.

124. Probably proverbial.—αἶλινον the burden of a dirge.—In English we should make the first clause dependent, 'Though sad words must be said, yet let the good prevail'. See on *v.* 360.

125—129. See Appendix C.

128. ἐδάη.....ἀρχάς lit. 'understood the hare-devourers and the conducting powers', i.e. understood the combination of the two pairs (see on *τε* in *v.* 117) and perceived the parallel.—λαγοδαίτας *f.*

133—135. *Though ere they pass the wall all their beasts, their public store, shall perforce be divided and destroyed.* The besieging army shall consume their provisions before Troy, and be reduced to the last straits. Calchas infers this from the fierce hunger of the typical eagles. (So also Wecklein.) This or other similar prophetic interpretations of hunger probably suggested the portent in Virgil (*Aen.* 7, 116 etiam mensas consumimus).—πύργων...πρόσθε before i.e. outside the wall, so πρόσθε πυλῶν *Theb.* 512.—κτήνη

beasts, here as always (Paley). κτήματα schol. here, and κτήνη* χρήματα Hesych. The one note explains the source of the other, and shows how little trust can be placed in the ancient lexicographers, when not supported by independent evidence or scientific probability.—μοῖρα *division, distribution* 'partitio' (Klausen). For similar uses of μοῖρα in its concrete sense (*part*) see *Eur. Med.* 430 and note there. The specialized meaning *fate* established itself in prose, but in poetry the word is free. Sophocles probably had this or a like passage in mind when he described these herds, the supply of the Greek host before Troy, as συμμικτὰ λείας ἄδαστα 'the mingled spoil of forage, not yet divided' (*Ai.* 54).—τὰ δημοπληθῆ: πλῆθος a mass or whole is correlative to μοῖρα. By distribution the supply ceases to be δῆμος and to be a πλῆθος. The article is added to bar the possibility of taking the adjective as a predicate, which would destroy the sense.—πρὸς τὸ βίαιον = πρὸς βίαν or βιαίως perforce (not violently); it is this error which has caused most difficulty here.—To refer κτήνη with the schol. to the wealth of Troy requires us to neglect μέν...δέ and to mistranslate κτήνη and πύργων, and leaves unexplained how Calchas inferred from the portent

κτῆνη πρόσθε τὰ δημοπληθῇ
μοῖρα λαπάξει πρὸς τὸ βίαιον.
οἶον μὴ τις ἄγα
θεόθεν κνεφάσῃ προτυπὲν στό-
μιον μέγα Τροίας
στρατωθέν. οἴκῳ γὰρ ἐπί-

135

134. προσθετὰ.

136. ἄγα.

that the enterprise would take a long time. I do not apprehend the grounds on which it is denied (Housman, *J. Phil.* XVI. p. 252) that according to that story of the siege which Aeschylus followed the besieging army was reduced to the last straits before the final success. See *v.* 343.

136—144. A further suggestion from the portent. The cruel feast of the eagles is an offence against the kindly law of Nature, represented by Artemis Εἰλεθῖα the patroness of the young and of pregnancy. The seer therefore cannot but recall that 'the house of the eagles', which is being interpreted 'of the Atridæ', has affronted the same power by another unnatural banquet (the Thyestean feast); and he forebodes disaster from this source. The allusion is naturally guarded, but comes out more clearly below (*v.* 158 *σπενδομένα θυσίαν ἐτέραν (a second) ἀνομόν τι' ἄδαιτον*). The prophet fears that the old sin may be made to 'breed another like itself' according to the doctrine of *v.* 755.—The question here, as excellently put by Paley, is 'how Calchas infers the anger of the goddess against the Atridæ from the destruction of a hare by the eagles, unless the Atridæ had already committed some crime, of which that destruction was the symbol?' I suggest the above as the answer.—Sophocles (*El.* 566) gives another account of the matter: Agamemnon had offended Artemis by killing a sacred doe. With this we are not directly concerned, but the change is interesting in itself. The sin is thus small, so that Agamemnon, as

is necessary from the point of view of the *Electra*, is not gravely compromised, while such as it is it is personal to himself, so that we are not driven to the characteristic doctrine of this play, that one man's sin tends to produce sin in others.

136. ἄγα Hermann. *Only may no divine displeasure fore-smite and overcloud the gathering of the host, whose might should bridle Troy*. The full construction would be τὸ στόμιον μέγα Τροίας στρατωθέν, στρατωθέν, literally 'that which is assembled (as) a mighty curb of Troy, in the moment when it is assembled'. The words στόμιον...Τροίας are a further predicate to στρατωθέν, and would in prose be represented by a dependent clause, ἵνα στόμιον γένηται τῆς Τροίας. It is this which permits the collision of metaphors in κνεφάσῃ στόμιον: in thought the metaphors do not touch, for what is really 'over-clouded' is not the 'bridle' but ἡ στρατώσις, the gathering of the host. Nevertheless the juxtaposition is bold and more in the manner of Pindar.—στρατωθέν means 'in the camp at Aulis' before departure (Hermann: translating στρατοῦσθαι *in castris esse*, which is substantially though not quite formally right).—προτυπὲν 'smitten beforehand, too soon'.

139. οἴκῳ...κυρὶ πατρός: τῷ οἴκῳ τῶν κυνῶν Διὸς schol. For the two datives of relation, one in effect a possessive, see *Theb.* 167 στρατῷ.....πυργηρουμένη πόλει, 621 πύργῳ...χθονί and notes there.—Note the emphasis on οἴκῳ, which marks that the speaker refers to a

φθονος Ἄρτεμις ἀγνὰ
 παανοῖσιν κυσὶ πατρός,
 αὐτότοκον πρὸ λόχου
 μογεράν πτάκα θυομένοισιν·
 στυγεῖ δὲ δεῖπνον αἰετῶν.
 αἴλινον αἴλινον εἶπέ, τὸ δ' εὖ νικάτω.
 τόσσων περ εὐφρων, καλά,
 δρόσοισιν ἀέπτοις μαλερῶν ἔοντων

140

145
ἐπφδ.

147. ἀέλπτοις. δντων.

hereditary, not a personal, offence in the Atridæ.—οἶκῳ (Scaliger) would never have been suggested, had it been perceived that all this passage refers to the Thyestean feast and the consequent curse upon the house of Atreus.

142. *who sacrifice a poor trembling creature with all her unborn young.* **θυομένοισι.** The middle form *θύομαι*, signifying properly 'to sacrifice for one's purpose' or 'with a certain ulterior object', is technical for sacrifices of divination. (See L. and Sc. s. v.) It is applied therefore naturally to the act of the eagles, as Calchas expounds it. But in *θυομένοισι*, as in *οἶκῳ* and again in *δεῖπνον*, the type and antitype are mixed together. The 'house', the 'sacrifice', and the 'banquet' (*δεῖπνον*, a word proper to men, not animals, and applied to the Thyestean Feast in v. 1601) are really those of the Atridæ and of Atreus.—**πτάκα** used not merely as a synonym of *λαγώς*, but in its full sense (see *πτήσσω*).—The use of the singular here is no evidence that there was but one hare (see above). Whether there was one or two, the singular in this generic description is rhetorically necessary. The wickedness lay in killing a pregnant mother, not in killing two animals.

144. **δεῖπνον αἰετῶν**: *such a banquet of eagles.* So we must render it to give the full effect. *αἰετῶν*, being superfluous (for the possessive 'their' would be supplied from the context), is necessarily

emphatic. 'The banquet' (see preceding note) was fit only for creatures of prey.

146—152. An appeal to the goddess not to interfere with the fulfilment of the portent *such as it is*. The portent, it is noted, does not promise unmixed good, but only good with evil, a victory after much suffering (see vv. 131—135), so that her displeasure may be satisfied without delaying the fleet and so causing the horrible sacrifice of Iphigenia.—**τόσσων** an 'epic' form: *τόσον recc.* See Appendix D.—**καλά**: *fair one*. The invocation is propitiatory, like the *ὦ καλέ* and *ὦγαθέ* of common conversation. Sidgwick and Wecklein also punctuate thus. *ὦ καλά* Weil. *ὦ καλά* (recc.) is merely a bad conjecture.

147. **δρόσοισιν** imitated, according to the schol., from *ἔρσαι* (*lambs*) in *Od.* 9. 222. If so, it is an odd specimen of a poet's science. *ἔρση a lamb* and *ἔρση or ἔρση dew* have probably no connexion; but Aeschylus apparently took *ἔρση a lamb* to mean properly 'that which is *unorbed*' and extended the analogy to *δρόσος*. Cf. *ἐδώλια* for *θάλαμος dower*, a parallel case, in *Theb.* 442.—**ἀέπτοις** *rough, uncouth*, from the stem *ἐπ-*, primarily 'that which cannot be handled, or dealt with' (see W. Leaf on *ἔπειν* and *ἔπσθαι* in *J. Phil.* xiv. 231). Hermann rightly defends this word against proposed change.—M has *ἀέλπτοις* but its archetype had *ἀέπτοις*, like f, as is proved by the schol. to M, which explains not

πάντων τ' ἀγρονόμων φιλομάστοις
 θηρῶν ὀβρικόλοισι τερπνά,
 τούτων αἰτεῖ ξύμβολα κρᾶναι·
 δεξιὰ μὲν κατάμομφα δὲ
 φάσματα στρουθῶν.
 ἰήιον δὲ καλέω Παιᾶνα,

150

ἀέλπτοις but ἀέπτοις.—ἐόντων: see Appendix D.—λεόντων Stanley, from *Etym. Mag.* 377 Αἰσχύλος ἐν Ἀγαμέμνονι τοὺς σκύμους τῶν λεόντων δρόσους κέκληκε.

149. *τερπνά* *sweet, delightful*, because kindly; nom. fem.—If taken as a neuter with the next clause it spoils the emphasis.

150. *Still thou art prayed, seeing what this portent is, to permit an answering accomplishment*, a cumbersome version, but we cannot with much less effect what the Greek does simply by throwing the emphasis on τούτων, and thus giving it a predicative force, 'this, being what it is'.—*ξύμβολα*: any two things which *tally* are ξύμβολα to each other; here the event is to tally with the sign, in which case, it is suggested, the goddess should be satisfied, because δεξιὰ μὲν (ἔστι) κατάμομφα δὲ φάσματα.—*αἰτεῖ*: for the passive see Thuc. 2. 97 καὶ αἰσχίον ἦν αἰτηθέντα μὴ δοῦναι ἢ αἰτήσαντα μὴ τυχεῖν, and L. and Sc. s. v. As used here it has exactly the same effect as in English. The speaker does not put his request directly but pleads that it is reasonable.—*δεξιὰ μὲν κτλ.*, as an explanatory comment on τούτων (see above), has naturally no conjunction.—The difficulties and conjectures made here seem to arise (1) from not perceiving that αἰτεῖ is passive, (2) from mis-joining δεξιὰ...στρουθῶν to the previous sentence.

152. *φάσματα στρουθῶν, the portents of the birds, i.e. the omen obtained by the eagles* (see *θυομένοισι*), or in plain language, by the Atridae, in whose name he appeals. For the sense of the genitive see Eur. *El.* 710 τυράννων φάσματα, where the τυράννοι are Atreus and Thyestes (so that the use may well be a reminiscence)

and the φάσμα is the golden lamb.—στρουθῶν is generally declared (after Porson) corrupt, on grounds which I cannot help thinking wholly unsubstantial. (1) The metre, it is assumed, must be dactylic. But as the passage is not strophic, the metre is really 'unknown'. There is nothing unrhymical in the text. (2) στρουθός, since it meant a *sparrow*, could not mean an *eagle*. The same argument would prove that it could not mean an *ostrich* or a *dove*. The variety of its meanings shows that originally it meant simply 'a bird', and like other synonymous words, was variously limited in various places. Here we find it in its proper sense. (3) The insertion of στρουθῶν is easily accounted for by recollection of the somewhat similar story about the serpent and the birds (στρουθοί) in Homer (*Il.* 2. 311). The likelihood of this we need not criticize. If the word could not be genuine here, we might enquire whence it came, but till that is shown, the fact that it *might* have been inserted is immaterial. The derivation itself seems far-fetched.

153. *But oh, in the name of the Healing God, do not thou etc.* The appeal is still to Artemis, who is entreated to remember her near connexion with Apollo the God of Mercy. τεύξῃ 2nd pers. subj. from ἐτευξάμην (for the form see L. and Sc. s. v.) not 3rd pers. from ἐτευξα. The middle voice has the same force as in σπενδόμενα.—This was the ancient interpretation (ὦ Ἀρτεμι, schol. on 156, does not imply the reading τεύξης as Hermann infers) and seems preferable in feeling to the recent view that Apollo is asked to prevent the in-

μή τινας ἀντιπνόους
 Δαναοῖς χρονίας ἐχενηίδας 155
 ἀπλοίας τεύξη,
 σπευδομένα θυσίαν
 ἑτέραν ἄνομόν τιν', ἄδαιτον.
 νεικέων τέκτονα σύμφυτον,
 οὐ δεισήνορα. μίμνει 160
 γὰρ φοβερὰ παλινόρτος
 οἰκονόμος δολία,
 μνάμων μῆνις τεκνόποινος.
 τοιάδε Κάλχας ξὺν
 μεγάλοις ἀγαθοῖς ἀπέκλαγξεν 165
 μόρσιμ' ἀπ' ὀρνίθων
 ὀδίων οἴκοις βασιλείοις.
 τοῖς δ' ὁμόφωνον
 αἴλιον αἴλιον εἶπέ, τὸ δ' εὖ νικάτω.

165. ἀπέκλαιξεν.

tention of Artemis. Moreover on such a point, if any, ancient tradition should be respected.

154. **τινας**, 156 **τινα**: the vagueness of foreboding.

157. **σπευδομένα** the reflexive form (*for thyself*), not *σπεύδουσα*, because the ultimate object would not be the death of the victim but the satisfaction of Artemis' wrath.—**θυσίαν ἑτέραν**: that of Iphigenia.—**ἄδαιτον**: that may not, like an ordinary lawful sacrifice, be partaken of.

159. **νεικέων τέκτονα σύμφυτον**: a very difficult and obscure phrase, literally 'inbred maker of hatred', or *maker of hatred in the very flesh*. Some (as Wecklein) render it by 'creator of hatred between near friends', *Stifter von Hader unter den Angehörigen*, i.e. the husband and wife, Agamemnon and Clytaemnestra, comparing Soph. *Ant.* 794 *νείκος ἀνδρῶν ξύναιμον*. This would be simple according to Greek habit of expression, if husband and wife were called *σύμφυτοι*, which however does not appear to be ascertained. If this is the meaning, as I incline to think, it must be based on some such

mystic use of the word, not now traceable. The examples given in L. and Sc. s. *vv.* *σύμφυτος*, *συμφύω*, especially the Platonic examples, will show that it is not unlikely.—*clinging, inseparable* (Paley, Hermann, Klausen) comes to the same thing by a slightly different road.

160. **οὐ δεισήνορα** *rebellng against the husband*: by a bold figure the act of sacrifice, personified, is treated as a living agent, and takes the qualities of the true agent (the wife) who carries out the effect of it. The language is of course intentionally obscure. It is the language of prophecy, fully intelligible only in the light of the event.—**μίμνει**: the subject is still the living crime, embodied in the avenging wife and mother.

165. **ἀπέκλαγξεν** (recc.) **ἀπὸ**: the preposition depends on *μόρσιμα*, 'predictions deduced from'.—The foregoing epode has been largely remodelled by recent critics (especially in *vv.* 150—163) upon metrical assumptions, which seem to me extremely unsafe in dealing with a piece of recitative not strophic in character.

Ζεὺς—ὅστις ποτ' ἐστίν, εἰ τόδ' αὖ-
 τῷ φίλον κεκλημένῳ,
 τοῦτό νιν προσενέπω.
 οὐκ ἔχω προσεικάσαι
 πάντ' ἐπισταθμώμενος
 πλὴν Διός, εἰ τὸ μάταν
 ἀπὸ φροντίδος ἄχθος

στρ. α'. 170

175

175. τῷδε.

170. The narrative at this point comes face to face with a mystery, upon which the poet pauses. How shall the religious mind explain to itself such an event as the sacrifice of Iphigenia? On the one hand Agamemnon received divine warning against it; on the other hand he was fearfully tempted to commit it, and this by divine act and in consequence of sin not his own. Why should guilt be visited, as it is, beyond the guilty? Why does the Divinity permit, nay, sometimes seem to bring about, the evil which he denounces? In the last resort we can answer these questions only 'by casting off the burden of vanity in the name of the Almighty' (v. 175), that is, in the language of later theology, by faith. So much however we see, that evil itself is an instrument of moral discipline, perhaps the only possible, and, if so, a mercy after all (v. 192). Religious tradition shadows forth such a doctrine, when it tells us on the one hand that there is one Power over all, and on the other hand that this Power itself has been developed out of a struggle, and that the present order of things stands upon the ruin of previous experiments. Thus does Aeschylus spiritualize the uncouth legends of the ancient cosmogony with its strange succession of brutal deities.—The structure of the passage, though simple, is not perfectly continuous. Zeus in v. 170 is the projected subject to the statement 'Zeus has decreed that wisdom should come by experience', but this statement is deferred, in order to set forth the

legends and suggest the point of view from which they are to be regarded, and finally appears (v. 186) in a slightly modified shape.

170. 'Zeus—meaning thereby that unknown Power, whose pleasure it is to be so called'. αὐτῷ emphatic, *to himself*.

173. οὐκ ἔχω προσεικάσαι... πλὴν Διός literally 'I can make no other guess for the purpose but Zeus' i.e. I can think of no other to trust, but in the one Almighty is my only resource. προσεικάω here is not 'to compare', or 'liken to', but 'to conjecture with a view to' the purpose explained in vv. 175—177.—'I can liken none but Zeus to Zeus' (Wecklein). This is nearly the same, but leaves the dependence of εἰ κτλ. somewhat obscure.

174. πάντ' ἐπισταθμώμενος, in deep pondering upon all things. πάντα the universe as in Eur. Med. 411 δῖκα καὶ πάντα πάλιν στρέφεται nature and the universe are turned upside down, where see note.—ἐπι- over and over.

175. τὸ μάταν ἄχθος the burden 'in vain', that is, the burden, in the language of *The Preacher*, of 'vanity', the oppressive sense of futility which must accompany a belief that the moral problem of the world is insoluble.—τὸ Pauw.

177. ἐτητύμως in the fullest sense. As to the use here of this 'etymological' term, and the light which it may throw on the source, from which Aeschylus drew the form of his thought, I have written in *Appendix II.* to my edition of the

χρή βαλεῖν ἐτητύμῳς.

οὐδ' ὅστις πάροιθεν ἦν μέγας,

ἀντ. α'.

παμμάχῳ θράσει βρύων,

οὐδ' ἐλέγξεται πρὶν ὦν,

180

ὃς δ' ἔπειτ' ἔφυ, τρια-

κτῆρος οἴχεται τυχών.

Ζῆνα δέ τις προφρόνως

ἐπινίκια κλάζων

τεύξεται φρενῶν τοπάν·

185

τὸν φρονεῖν βροτοὺς ὁδώ-

στρ. β'.

σαντα τῷ πάθει μάθος

θέντα κυρίως ἔχειν.

180. οὐδὲν λέξαι.

184. κλάζων.

185. τὸ πᾶν.

Seven Against Thebes. A reference to that place will be sufficient, for the etymological origin of the thought, even if it be, as I think, certainly traceable, has little effect on the present application of it.

178—185. According to Greek tradition Zeus and the dynasty of Zeus were the third in succession to supreme power, having expelled Kronos, father of Zeus (ὃς ἐπείτ' ἔφυ), who had expelled his father Ouranos (ὅστις πάροιθεν ἦν). Aeschylus, relieving the legend of its grotesque details, reproduces it so as to mark the two points which he requires, that there is a Supreme Ruler, and that he won his position by a contest.

178. ὅστις vague, 'he, whate'er he was, who'. This earliest power has almost ceased to be discernible even in tradition.

179. παμμάχῳ victorious: but the word is used, like τριακτῆρ and ἐπινίκια, to sustain the metaphor from gymnastic contests: πάμμαχος was specially associated with the παγ-κράτιον (see L. and Sc. s. v.). βρύων. βρύω to teem, to sprout describes generally richness and fullness of life and is here applied to animal vigour: cf. the metaphor of the sap in v. 77.

180. οὐδ' ἐλέγξεται πρὶν ὦν (Margo-

liouth) will scarce be proved to have once been, literally 'will not so much as be proved', an expressive phrase for destruction which has left no trace.—ὦν: imperfect participle.—This seems the best restoration suggested. It is as near to the MS. as οὐδὲ λέγεται (the error having probably arisen through the spelling ουδελενγεται) and better in sense.

181. τριακτῆρος properly a wrestler who throws his opponent three times, thus winning the victory. See *Eum.* 592.

183—185. But he that by forecast giveth titles of victory to Zeus, shall be right in the guess of his thought, or, if κλάζων be read 'he that singeth the hymn of victory to Zeus'. In plain words 'Zeus' power may be trusted in all'. See Appendix E.

186—188. Who leadeth men to understanding under this law, that they learn a truth by the suffering of it. This is one sentence, in which ὁδῶσαντα is the principal verb and θέντα a subordinate participle, equivalent to ὃς ὥδωσε...θεις κτλ.—ὁδῶσαντα: gnomic aorist.—In the second and properly participial clause, the emphasis is on τῷ πάθει, constructed as instrumental with μάθος. The whole phrase τῷ πάθει μάθος is the subject of κυρίως ἔχειν to be established.—τὸν...ὁδῶ-

στάζει δ', ἐνθ' ὑπνῶ, πρὸ καρδίας
 μνησιπήμων πόνος·
 καὶ παρ' ἄκοντας ἦλθε σωφρονεῖν.
 δαιμόνων δέ που χάρις βιαίως
 σέλημα σεμνὸν ἡμένων.

190

189. ἐν θ' ὑπνῶ.

σαντα, τὸν...θέντα Schütz, a mistaken change, though attractive at first sight and followed in many texts. The clause τὸν...δῶσαντα, if taken as a separate proposition, is irrelevant; the point is not that Zeus teaches mankind, but that he has imposed upon them one universal condition of learning. Moreover the removal of the article from τῷ πάθει obscures and has in fact made unintelligible the connexion and construction of the following sentence. See next note.

189—191. *For it bleeds, where it lies dormant, and its ache keeps before the mind the memory of the hurt; and so wisdom comes to them without their will.* The admonitory recollection of experience is compared to a wound which long afterwards will ache at times and even break out again, reminding the sufferer of the original hurt. The comparison would suggest itself even more naturally under the rude life and rude surgery of ancient times. The subject to στάζει is τὸ πάθος (as is clear if τῷ πάθει be retained in the preceding clause) which passes in the metaphor into the restricted sense of *a hurt*: cf. *Eum.* 499 πολλὰ παιδότηρῳτῳ πάθεα.—πόνος stands in apposition to the subject.—πρὸ καρδίας depends upon μνησιπήμων.—ἐνθ' ὑπνῶ literally *wherever it sleeps*, i.e. wherever there is such a dormant hurt. ὑπνῶ is the Doric contraction for ὑπνόη (or for ὑπνύει indicative). The intransitive use of ὑπνώ is Homeric, but like many other archaic forms and usages does not appear in prose until after the best age. It is possible also to construe in the same sense the reading ἐν θ' ὑπνῶ (supplying

ἐστί), but the sentence is then cumbrous. —The language here is all taken from the poetical vocabulary of medicine, and may be illustrated from the *Philoctetes* and elsewhere. For στάζειν *to ooze, break out* see *Phil.* 783 στάζει γὰρ αὐ φολνιον τόδε... κηκῖον αἷμα: and for the application of the word to that from which the flowing comes see *Cho.* 1056 ἐξ ὀμμάτων στάζουσιν αἷμα δυσφιλές. For the metaphor of *sleep* applied to a *dormant* pain which ceases and recurs see *Phil.* 649 φύλλον ᾧ κοιμῶ τδδ' ἔλκος: for πόνος *rain, ache* *Phil.* 637 καίριος σπονδὴ πόνον λήξαντος: for πῆμα *inf.* 841 *Soph. Ai.* 582 τομῶν πῆμα *a hurt that needs the knife*. See further *L. and Sc. s. v.*—This passage is commonly treated as deeply corrupt and corrected violently, but only, I think, in consequence of the erroneous assumption that the ὑπνος is that of the sufferer. On this assumption nothing can be made of it.—ἄκοντας *without their will* rather than *against their will*, ἄκων being merely the negative of ἐκών. So θελουσ' ἄκοντι *κοινῶναι κακῶν take willingly thy part of suffering with him who hath no will* (*Theb.* 1024). The point here is not so much that men will not be wise as that except through suffering they perhaps could not.

192—193. *And it is perhaps a mercy from a Deity who came by struggle to his majestic seat.* The subject is still πάθος, suffering regarded as a discipline.—βιαίως ἡμένων: 'to be seated by force' has two possible meanings, (1) 'to have taken a seat by force' (2) 'to have been forced to take a seat' ('to sit in might' is of course impossible). Here the context decides

καὶ τότε ἡγεμὼν ὁ πρέ-
σβυς νεῶν Ἀχαικῶν,
μάντιν οὔτινα ψέγων,
ἐμπαίοις τύχαισι συμπνέων,
εὖτ' ἀπλοῖα κεναγ-
γεί βαρύνοντ' Ἀχαικὸς λεῶς

ἀντ. β'.

195

for the first meaning.—**δαμόνων**. The plural must not be pressed, and is in fact not correctly represented by a plural in English. Zeus only is in view, but the plural indicates (as usual) that the character or position rather than the person is described.—Note carefully the emphasis on *δαμόνων*. The point is that heaven as well as earth is under the general law. This is the moral, or rather part of the moral, which the poet draws from the legendary theology which he has given in outline. The necessity of suffering as a discipline is perhaps taught by the tradition that the Deity itself has known progression and that 'Zeus' did not reign till he had first overcome.—Wecklein reads this sentence as a rhetorical question (*ποῦ...ἡμένων;*) which the MS. equally admits: "und nirgend zeigt sich Gnade der Götter, die mit Gewalt das Steuerruder lenken". This makes it a protest against the divine cruelty instead of an acknowledgment of the divine mercy. The context points, I think, the other way.—**σέλμα** the metaphor is perhaps from place in a ship (cf. *v.* 1615); *ὑψίζυγος γὰρ ὁ Ζεὺς* schol. see Hom. *Il.* 8. 69 (Wecklein). But the use of *σέλμα* does not necessarily imply this.

194—227. The story is resumed, and proceeds in one sweeping period to the sacrifice of Iphigenia, the circumstances of which suggested the foregoing parenthesis. **καὶ τότε** so on that occasion etc. **ἡγεμὼν ὁ πρέσβυς**. The substance of the sentence here commenced is this, 'Agamemnon, in spite of the divine warning, resolved in the end to slay his child'. The verb comes in *v.* 215 (*εἶπε*), where after long preliminary clauses, the

main sentence is resumed with a *δέ*, and for more clearness the subject is repeated almost in the same words, *ἀναξ ὁ πρέσβυς*.

196—197: *remembering that a prophet is not to blame* (for his message) *and bending to the buffets of fortune*. The old men, though unable to excuse the king's crime, make the best of his case, and give to his acquiescence this courteous turn. **μάντιν οὔτινα ψέγων** literally 'blaming no prophet', embracing this particular case under the general rule. It may be guessed that Aeschylus has in view the petulant and unprincely denunciations, which Homer, with the feelings of a simpler time, puts in the mouth of the 'king of men': *μᾶντι κακῶν, οὐ πῶ ποτέ μοι τὸ κρήγυνον εἶπας. αἰεὶ τοι τὰ κακ' ἐστὶ φίλα φρεσὶ μαρτεῦσθαι* etc. (Agamemnon to Calchas. *Il.* 1. 106. Wecklein also compares this passage, and observes that such opposition would have been more in place at Aulis).—**συμπνέων**: the metaphor seems to be taken, by contrast, from the act of struggling against the wind. There is no exact parallel now extant, but from the manner of use here it must be supposed to have been once common and popular.—**ἐμπαίοις**: a unique and obscure word, perhaps to be connected with *παίω* (*ἐμπαισάσας* schol.). The position shows that it is emphatic and contains the point of the phrase; seemingly 'disposed to yield to fortune as it might strike'. Wecklein refers the metaphor to the beating of waves upon a ship.

198. **κεναγγεῖ**. As an ancient army depended almost entirely on foraging for provisions, to be detained on their own shore threatened starvation.

Χαλκίδος πέραν ἔχων παλιρρό- 200
 θοις ἐν Αὐλίδος τόποις·
 ἴπποισι δ' ἀπὸ Στρυμόνος μολοῦσαι στρ. γ'.
 κακόσχολοι, νήσιδες, δύσορμοι,
 βροτῶν ἄλαι, 205
 ναῶν καὶ πεισμάτων ἀφειδεῖς,
 παλιμμήκη χρόνον τιθεῖσαι
 τρίβῳ κατέξαινον ἄν-
 θος Ἀργείων· ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ
 πικροῦ χείματος ἄλλο μῆχαρ
 βριθύτερον πρόμοισιν 210
 μάντις ἔκλαγξε προφέρων
 Ἄρτεμιν, ὥστε χθόνα βάκτροις
 ἐπικρούσαντας Ἀτρεΐδας
 δάκρυ μὴ κατασχεῖν.—
 ἄναξ δ' ὁ πρέσβυς τόδ' εἶπε φωνῶν· ἀντ. γ'. 215
 βαρεῖα μὲν κῆρ τὸ μὴ πιθέσθαι,

207. κατέξενον (αι m).

216. πιθεσθαι.

203. νήσιδες *hungry*, because they make to hunger.

204. βροτῶν ἄλαι doubtful. Mr Housman would refer this ἄλη to the stem of ἄλέω to *grind*, and render it by *tribulation*. This gives a perfectly simple sense and is very attractive, although the known derivatives of this stem seem to be literal only not metaphorical. That this ἄλη should coexist with ἄλη *wandering*, itself extremely rare and only poetical, is quite likely.—Those who take ἄλαι here to mean *wandering*, explain it as meaning that the winds make the men wander, either literally in search of forage, or metaphorically in their minds, *i.e.* drive them mad. But both explanations seem highly artificial. (Wecklein slightly modifies this last 'Irrsal für die Menschen, weil der fortdauernde Wind Befangenheit des Kopfes erzeugt'.)

205—208. On the metre see Appendix II. νεῶν Pauw, τε καὶ Porson.

208. ἐπεὶ: the subordinate clause commenced at εἴτε (v. 198) takes a fresh start.

211. ἔκλαγξε: for the tone of this word see on v. 184, Appendix E.—The lengthening of ε before πρ- is epic. ἔκλαγξεν Porson.—προφέρων Ἄρτεμιν 'putting forward Artemis', *i.e.* citing her demands as his reason and defence. See L. and S. s. v.

215. δὲ. See on v. 194. For τόδ' Stanley τότ'. The adverb would be effective as resuming the previous τότε in v. 194. For τότε see v. 418 (Wecklein).—εἶπε φωνῶν 'spoke in words', or 'with articulate voice' (the proper meaning of φωνῶν), as contrasted with the 'unchecked tears' of the previous verse, in English *found voice and said*. That this is the meaning (and not 'spoke and said' *i.e.* 'said') is shown by the tense of the participle (φωνῶν not φωνήσας) and still more clearly by its emphatic position.

216. τὸ μὴ πιθέσθαι (Turnebus) to *refuse obedience* is more pointed than τὸ μὴ πείθεσθαι to *hold out*, and is favoured though not absolutely required by the metre. The ms. does not effectually distinguish them.

βαρεῖα δ', εἰ

τέκνον δαίξω, δόμων ἄγαλμα,

μιαίνων παρθενοσφάγοισιν

ρέεθροισ πατρώους χέρας

220

βωμοῦ πέλας. τί τῶνδ' ἄνευ

κακῶν; πῶς λιπόναντες γένωμαι

ξυμμαχίας ἁμαρτῶν;

παυσανέμου γὰρ θυσίας

παρθενίου θ' αἵματος ὀργᾶ

225

περιόργως, ἐπιθυμεῖν

θέμις. εὖ γὰρ εἴη.

ἐπεὶ δ' ἀνάγκας ἔδυν λέπαδνον

στρ. δ'

φρενὸς πνέων δυσσεβῇ τροπαίαν

ἄναγνον, ἀνίερον, τόθεν

230

τὸ παντότολμον φρονεῖν μετέγνω.

βρότοις θρασύνει γὰρ αἰσχρόμητις

τάλαινα παρακοπὰ πρωτοπήμων.

222. τι πᾶς λιπόνανστε(text h).

232. βροτοῖς.

220. *ρέεθροις* pronounced *ρείθροις* and so written in h.—On the metre see Appendix II.

222. *πῶς γενῶμαι*; 'how can I be?' i.e. 'how can I bear to be?'

224—226. *For eager is their craving that to stay the winds her virgin blood should be offered up, and well they may desire it.*—*ὀργᾶ* (see *ὀργάω*) has for subject *συμμαχία*, and takes the dependent genitives according to rule.—*ἐπιθυμεῖν θέμις* literally 'it being permissible that they should desire it'. The use in this clause of the weaker word (*ἐπιθυμεῖν* as compared with *ὀργᾶν*) aids the intended point, 'they crave it eagerly, and for desiring it cannot be blamed', that is, their 'desire, however keen, is not unreasonable'. Agamemnon endeavours to persuade himself that he yields from a sense of duty.—For the absolute use of *θέμις* cf. the similar use of *χρέων*, a word parallel in its uses throughout, e.g. *οὐ χρέων ἄρχετε* Thuc. 3. 40, and see L. and Sc. s. v.—I suggest that this punctuation and construction remove the objections

properly made if *παυσανέμου...θέμις* (*ἐστὶ*) be taken as one sentence, viz. (1) that *ἐπιθυμεῖν* requires a pronominal subject to show that the sentence is not general, and (2) that *ὀργᾶ* (dative of *ὀργή*) *περιόργως ἐπιθυμεῖν* is at once verbose and feeble. For proposed changes see Wecklein *Appendix*.—*περιοργῶς* Blomfield, as from *περιοργής*. Either form is correct, and duplicate forms in both terminations are common.

227. *γὰρ* then (not *for*), in effect the English *well*.

230. *τόθεν...μετέγνω* from that moment he took to his heart unflinching resolve. Constr. *μετέγνω τὸ παντότολμον ὥστε φρονεῖν αὐτό*.—*μεταγινώσκω* here has an acc. object of the feeling assumed, not as more commonly of the feeling quitted (*μεταγινώσκειν ἅπαν τοῖς ἄνθρωποις* to repent folly).

232—233. *For to put faith in the shedding of blood is an obstinate delusion, whose base suggestion is the beginning of sin*, literally, 'for by bloodshed takes (or 'gives') confidence an obstinate delusion',

ἔτλα δ' οὖν θυτῆρ
γενέσθαι θυγατρός, γυναικοποι-
νων πολέμων ἄρωγάν
καὶ προτέλεια ναὸν.

235

λιτὰς δὲ καὶ κληδόνας πατράους
παρ' οὐδὲν αἰῶνα παρθένειον
ἔθεντο φιλόμαχοι βραβῆς,

ἀντ. δ'.

240

etc. **βρότοις**: (instrumental dative) is the plural (cf. αἵματα) of the Homeric word βρότος *blood*, as in *Od.* 24, 189 ἀπονίσαντες μέλανα βρότον ἐξ ὤτειλέων. The Ms. gives the more familiar accentuation from βροτός.—**θρασύνει** may be taken either transitively (the object, τὸν θρασυνόμενον, being left to be understood, as such a universal object often is in Greek, Latin, English, and all languages), or intransitively, for which cf. *Soph. El.* 916 ἀλλ', ὦ φίλη, θάρσυνε. The sense is the same either way.—Note the position of γάρ. The principal emphasis is on βρότοις, but there is also a joint emphasis on βρότοις θρασύνει which are closely connected together and distinguished, as subject from predicate, from the rest of the sentence. It is this which justifies the place of the conjunction. See on *Theb.* 281 λευστήρα, δῆμον δ' οὔτι μὴ φυγῇ μόνον.—**παρακοπά**: the personified *delusion* stands for those who entertain it.—The sentence is directed against the doctrine of a rude and barbarous religion that the *blood* of sacrifice is efficacious, without respect to moral considerations. Lucretius (l. 80—101) draws from the story a like moral in his *tantum religio potuit suadere malorum*, condemning however *religio* in a much more sweeping sense than Aeschylus intends.—**βροτοὺς** (Spanheim) is the common reading, but is for many reasons not to be accepted: for (1) it does not account for the Ms., (2) the emphasis on βροτοὺς has no point, (3) there is then no excuse for the position of γάρ, and (4) the sense is incomplete, as there is nothing to show what particular delusion is intended.

234. δ' οὖν *however*, for good or ill.

235. **θυγατρός, γυναικοποιῶν**. The antithesis is significant 'the daughter being a blood-relation, the wife a stranger' (Sidgwick), and moreover exposes the moral monstrosity of supporting a cause, which rested on the sanctities of the family, by an offence against those very obligations.

236. **ἄρωγάν** in apposition to the action (τὸ θύειν) of the verb θυτῆρ γενέσθαι.

237. **προτέλεια**: see on *vv.* 65, 249, and Lucretius (*l.c.*) 'non ut sollemni more sacrorum perfecto posset (Iphigenia) claro comitari *Hymenaeo*, sed casta inceste nubendi tempore in ipso concideret'.

238—240: *for her prayers and appeals to her father, (mere) life-breath of a girl, the spectators, eager for war, cared not at all.* **βραβῆς** this word, of uncertain origin, seems to combine, like the Latin *arbiter*, the meanings of *judge* and *spectator* (*Eur. Hel.* 703, and see editor's note on *Eur. Med.* 274), the fundamental sense being probably *witness*. Here it means in full 'spectators on whom the decision depended'.—**αἰῶνα παρθένειον**. These words, as their position shows, are related as an explanation to παρ' οὐδὲν ἔθεντο. This forbids the corrections αἰῶνα παρθένειον τ' (and her virgin life) Elmsley, αἰῶ τε παρθένειον (O. Müller). αἰαγμα παρθένειον (Karsten) is admissible. But no change is required. That αἰῶνα should stand in apposition to λιτὰς καὶ κληδόνας seems unnatural to our ears only because we (rightly as a matter of science) connect αἰών (*aiFῶn*) *life* with *aevum* and take it to mean *time, life-time*. But the

φράσεν δ' ἄόζοις πατὴρ μετ' εὐχὰν
 δίκαν χιμαίρας ὕπερθε βωμοῦ
 πέπλοισι περιπετὴ παντὶ θυμῷ
 προνωπῇ λαβεῖν
 ἀέρδην, στόματός τε καλλιπρῶ-

245

Greek poets did not so limit it. They associated it mainly with *ἄημι* and *ἀίω* *to breathe*, and took it to mean properly *life-breath*. Thus Euripides, guided probably by this and other similar phrases of Aeschylus, actually wrote *ἀνέπνευσεν αἰῶνα* (*fr.* 787 Dindorf) *drew breath*, and the same conception underlies many common phrases, such as *ψυχὴ καὶ αἰών*, *αἰὼν πέφαται*, *αἰῶνος στερεῖν*, which exclude altogether the idea of 'time'. See also Eur. *Phoen.* 1532 *δεῖξον σὸν αἰῶνα μέλεον*, *ὃς ἔλκει μακρόπρουν ζῶαν*, where the two associations of 'time' and 'breath' are subtly mingled. Thus *αἰῶνα παρθένειον* here exactly marks both the feeling of the warriors and the cruelty of their feeling.—For *παρθένος* as a term, from the soldiers' view at the moment, of contempt, cf. *παρθενωπὸς girl-faced* Eur. *El.* 949 *μὴ παρθενωπὸς ἀλλὰ τάνδρῳ τρόπου*.

243. *πέπλοισι περιπετὴ* *wrapped in* (*i.e.* wrapping herself in) *her robes*: contrast *v.* 249.—*προνωπῇ*: *προνευκυῖαν* schol. *bent or bowed forward*.—*παντὶ... ἀέρδην* variously interpreted: (1) *drooping in all her soul* (suggested by Paley). (2) *to raise unfalteringly the drooping maid* (Sidgwick and the majority); 'the order of the words marks the sharp antithesis; they were to be eager, she was fainting with fear and grief' (S.) (3) *to raise her bowed (over the altar)* 'so as to present her neck to the sacrificer' (Wecklein). None of these is quite satisfactory. The order of the words *πέπλοισι...προνωπῇ* strongly suggests that *παντὶ θυμῷ* refers to the victim, and in fact makes any other interpretation seem artificial. The supposed antithesis between *παντὶ θυμῷ* and *προνωπῇ* (see Sidgwick) would have been satisfied just as well by the

order *προνωπῇ παντὶ θυμῷ*, and this order alone would be natural, if *παντὶ θυμῷ* were constructed with *λαβεῖν*. This points to (1); but *προνωπῆς*, which describes an attitude not a state of mind, and *παντὶ θυμῷ*, which elsewhere means *energetically, resolutely*, will hardly bear the interpretation required. On the other hand (2) does not satisfy the order or the sense of *προνωπῆς*, while (3) satisfies *προνωπῆς* but not the order, and moreover the sacrificer would naturally strike the throat, not the back of the neck (see the sacrifice of Polyxena, Eur. *Hec.* 565—567, *λαμὸς εὐτρεπὴς ὄδε* and *τέμνει πνεύματος διαρροάς*).—I would suggest for consideration the rendering *desperately bowed down*: the victim, in an agony of supplication, struggles with the energy of despair to retain her attitude and not to be raised into the posture for sacrifice with the throat exposed. This satisfies both order and words, and makes the two phrases *πέπλοισι περιπετὴ*, *παντὶ θυμῷ προνωπῇ* parallel, as by their arrangement they should be: both mark the struggle of the victim.

245. Constr. *στόμ.-καλλ.-φυλακὰν κατασχέιν φθόγγον κ.τ.λ.*, literally 'and, by way of guard upon her fair lips, they should restrain', etc. *φυλακὰν* is acc. in apposition to the action, see *ἀρωγάν*, *v.* 236. It is unusual that an accusative of this kind should stand before the verb which it explains, but it seems to be so meant here. Others construe *φυλακὰν κατασχέιν φθόγγον* as *Théb.* 277 *μέριμναι ζωπυροῦσι τάρβος τὸν ἀμφιτειχῇ λεών*, making the acc. *στόμα* depend on *φυλακὰν κατασχέιν* *to keep guard* (Wecklein). But against this is *κατασχέιν check*.—*φυλακῶ*, Blomfield, cuts the knot, but does not

ρου φυλακὰν κατασχέιν
 φθόγγον ἀραῖον οἰκοῖς
 βία χαλινῶν τ' ἀναύδῳ μένει. στρ. ε'.
 κρόκου βαφὰς δ' ἐς πέδον χέουσα
 ἔβαλλ' ἕκαστον θυτή- 250
 ρων ἀπ' ὅμματος βέλει
 φιλοίκτῳ,
 πρέπουσά θ' ὡς ἐν γραφαῖς, προσεννέπειν
 θέλουσ', ἐπεὶ πολλάκις
 πατρὸς κατ' ἀνδρῶνας εὐτραπέζους 255
 ἔμελψεν, ἀγνῇ δ' ἀταύρωτος αὐδᾶ
 πατρὸς φίλου τριτόσπονδον εὐποτμον

256. ἀγνῇ. αὐδᾶ.

account for the text.—καλλιπρόρου. See on *Theb.* 520.

248. βία...μένει This fine expression takes special emphasis from its position in the new strophe (Wecklein).

249. *her robe of saffron*, the dress of a princess and a maiden. So Antigone unties 'the saffron splendour of her robe' *στολίδος κροκέεσσαν τρυφάν*, Eur. *Phoen.* 1491 (Sidgwick). There is perhaps also an allusion to the hymenaeal associations of the colour (see on *v.* 237). It does not appear whether Aeschylus knew or followed the story of the pretended marriage (see Eur. *Iph. Aul.*) by which Agamemnon brought his daughter to Aulis.—δε: the position is natural, κρόκου βαφὰς being inseparable and in effect one word.—χέουσά | ἔβαλλε: see Appendix II.

253. πρέπουσά τε: joined with χέουσα because both the action and the mute look make an appeal to their pity for her youth and beauty. See Eur. *Hec.* 558 foll. (So almost in the same words Wecklein).

254. They knew the voice that would have spoken and had reason to associate it with pathetic remembrance of her proud and happy maidenhood.—The connection marked by ἐπεὶ is often much looser than with our conjunctions of

inference. Unless we supply the connecting link (as here 'and her look was vocal to them, for' etc.) we should render simply by 'and' or 'and indeed'.

258. παιᾶνα (Hartung, Enger). A banquet was followed by libations, usually three, the third to Zeus the Preserver (*Σωτήρ*). 'With the end of the libations came the paean or song. So in Plato's Symposium, *ἔφη δειπνήσαντας σπονδὰς ποιήσασθαι καὶ ἄσαντας τὸν θεόν* (S.)'. The whole in fact was a sort of 'grace'. In all ritual acts, especially those connected like the paean with the worship of Apollo, personal purity was of great importance (see *Theb.* 156, 251, 254 Eur. *Ion* 150 *ὁσιος ἀπ' εὐνᾶς ὧν...Φοῖβῳ λατρεύων*). Hence the emphasis here on ἀγνῇ ἀταύρωτος αὐδᾶ. Whether the custom here implied, that the children, and particularly the virgins, of the family should sing or join in singing the 'grace', subsisted in Aeschylus' time there is nothing to show positively. But it is natural and probable. In any case there can scarcely be reference by way of contrast, as has been suggested, to the 'very different' persons who sang the 'banquet-songs of later days'. The *paean* was not a 'banquet-song' but a hymn, and the 'different' persons have no connexion with the subject.

παιᾶνα φίλως ἐτίμα.

τὰ δ' ἔνθεν οὔτ' εἶδον οὔτ' ἐννέπω·

ἀντ. ε'.

τέχναι δὲ Κάλχαντος οὐκ ἄκραντοι·

260

δίκα δὲ τοῖς μὲν παθοῦ-

σιν μαθεῖν ἐπιρρέπει·

τὸ μέλλον

ἐπεὶ γένοιτ' ἂν κλύοις· πρὸ χαιρέτω·

ἴσον δὲ τῷ προστένειν·

265

τορὸν γὰρ ἤξει σύνορθον αὐταῖς.

258. αἰῶνα.

264. ἐπιγένοιτ'·προχαιρέτω.

259. τὰ δ' ἔνθεν *what followed, i.e. the sacrifice itself.*

260. τέχναι *science, i.e. his oracular utterances as a seer by profession.* Cf. Soph. O. T. 380 τέχνη τέχνης ὑπερφέρουσα. The immediate reference is to the suggestion of the sacrifice (v. 211), but the accomplishment of this raises also fears as to the threatened sequel (v. 160). Hence what here follows.

261. *It is the law, that to experience wisdom should fall, i.e. that men should learn by their own sufferings, and seldom by anything else.*—δίκη properly 'wont', 'way' and here 'nature of things'; for this use see on Eur. Med. 411 καὶ δίκαι καὶ πάντα πάλιν στρέφεται *nature and the universe is turned upside down.* The metaphor in ἐπιρρέπει (literally 'inclines') suggests a comparison between the laws of the moral world and those of the physical. Wisdom 'gravitates' (if we may use the anachronism) to experience.—The reading 'justice' should be avoided. The 'law' is far from being manifestly just; on the contrary it raises, as Aeschylus has shown above, moral difficulties.

263—265. ἐπεὶ later MSS.—πρὸ χαιρέτω H. L. Ahrens.—*As for the future, one may hear it when it comes to pass, ere that, I care not for the hearing; 'tis but anticipating sorrow.* κλύοις ἂν is the principal verb, γένοιτο optative indefinite assimilated to κλύοις. The subject of χαιρέτω (literally 'let it be bidden

good-bye' i.e. 'let it keep at a distance') is τὸ κλύειν supplied from κλύοις ἂν. πρὸ is adverbial. The same τὸ (πρὸ) κλύειν is the subject of ἴσον (ἔστι) τῷ προστένειν 'hearing of it before is equivalent to lamenting it before'.—The sentiment is directed against the usefulness of divination.—After μέλλον in M a later hand has inserted τὸ δὲ προκλύειν. There is no doubt that these words, excluded by the metre, have arisen merely from a marginal explanation of the following clauses.

266. *For it will come clear and right, when the science itself comes clear and right;* literally 'clear it will come, made right together with the divination itself'. The subject is still τὸ κλύειν. When the thing is accomplished it will be told clearly and rightly. Till then the prophecy itself is never clear and cannot therefore be known to be right.—αὐταῖς emphatic, as the position shows. In Aeschylus this pronoun almost always is so. There is no difficulty in supplying ταῖς τέχναις from v. 260, as the intervening sentences contain nothing to which αὐταῖς could be referred and *divination* is the topic of the whole passage. Nor is the *emphatic* pronoun unsuited for its place; it marks the point, and could not be placed otherwise. The objection made here arises from neglect of the emphasis.—The MS. seems to me correct and the received emendation *σύνορθρον αὐγαῖς* (Wellauer, Hermann) more in-

πέλοιτο δ' οὖν τὰπὶ τούτοισιν εὖ, πρᾶ-
ξις ὡς θέλει· τόδ' ἄγχιστον, Ἀπίας

267. εὖπρα-

genious than happy. The subject is taken to be τὸ μέλλον, and the sentence explained thus 'as the rising sun suddenly lightens the darkness, so will the fulfilment of the prophecy bring first and at once a clear confirmation' (Wecklein). But surely this sense is most obscurely and inappropriately expressed by the words 'for the future will come clear, dawning together with the light'. Moreover the subject naturally supplied by the context is τὸ κλύειν, not τὸ μέλλον. I also think (but this is a pure matter of taste) that the introduction of a fresh metaphor would greatly mar the simple directness of the epigram. If the text is not sufficiently clear, I would read αὐτοῖς (emphatic, dative of αὐτά, which is often used thus independently for 'the matter in question') translating thus, 'for it (the hearing of events) will come clear and true when the events themselves come'. This however I do not think necessary or desirable.—Prof. Goodwin, retaining the text, retains also the old interpretation, 'the future will come clear in accord with them (the prophecies)'. But αὐταῖς cannot be unemphatic.

267—269. *Let us pray then for such immediate good, as the present occasion needs. Our nearest concern is this fortress, sole protection of the Argive land.* Dismissing (δ' οὖν) useless speculation as to the future, they turn to what is near and practical, the present safety of the πόλις, exposed to special danger by the absence of its lord and, as hereafter appears, from the state of the country (vv. 463—466). It must be remembered that the elders are at present, as the following question shows, wholly ignorant as to the meaning or purpose of the nocturnal alarm. They do not even know whether, as the celebration suggests, any news has actually been re-

ceived.—The antithesis of present and future is marked in three ways: (1) τὰπὶ τούτοισιν 'the immediate sequel', literally 'what comes next to this present': (2) πρᾶξις ὡς θέλει literally 'as practical action (business) demands'. πρᾶξις is here = τὸ πρασσόμενον, 'the matter in hand, the thing to be done, as opposed to what can only be matter of guessing or speculation. Cf. Soph. *Ant.* 1334 μέλλοντα ταῦτα· τῶν προκειμένων τι χρὴ | πράσσειν, where note the metrical emphasis on πράσσειν. The emphasis upon πρᾶξις, and its pregnant force, are here marked by the position of the word in its clause. Somewhat similar is the Homeric use of οὐ τις πρῆξις πέλεται γόοιο, 'nothing practical comes of lamentation' (and see L. and Sc. s.v. πρᾶξις): (3) τόδ' ἄγχιστόν (ἐστι), *here is our nearest concern*; for ἄγχιστον 'nearest (in concern)' cf. ὁ ἄγχιστος 'the person most nearly concerned', Soph. *El.* 1105. It is best to take this as a separate sentence. As an explanatory comment upon the preceding τὰπὶ τούτοισιν it has according to usage no connecting conjunction. It is possible also without change of the meaning to take τόδε...ἔρκος as in actual apposition to τὰπὶ τούτοισιν 'the immediate matter, our nearest concern' etc.—Ἀπίας γαίης ἔρκος: the ancient fortress of Argos, which, like Athens and most other old centres in Hellas, occupied a hill (the *Larisa* or *Larissa*). It will be noticed that there is no attempt in this play to represent any of the details of the place, its appearance, buildings, etc. The example of Sophocles (see commentaries on the prologue to the *Electra*) shows that such details were not within the knowledge of the audience (perhaps not of the poet) and would not have been appreciated. The play assumes nothing but those general facts, which could not but be

γαίας μονόφρουρον ἔρκος.

ἦκω σεβίζων σόν, Κλυταιμήστρα, κράτος·

270

δίκη γάρ ἐστι φωτὸς ἀρχηγοῦ τίειν

γυναικ' ἐρημωθέντος ἄρσενος θρόνου.

σὺ δ' εἴτε κεδνὸν εἴτε μὴ πεπυσμένη

273. δ' εἰ τὸ corr. to text.

known, the plain, the sea, the mountains, and the fortress. For Ἄπλια γαῖα *Argolis* see L. and Sc. s.v.: for γαῖας ἔρκος cf. Eur. *Heracl.* 441 ποῖον δὲ γαῖας ἔρκος οὐκ ἀφίγμεθα;—These lines have been made difficult only by wrong punctuation. They are generally given (by those who do not alter the words) thus; πέλοιτο...εὐπραξίς, ὥς θέλει...ἔρκος, 'Let good fortune follow, as is the wish of this one sole defence of Argos, bound by close ties', the last words being supposed to describe either the speakers or Clytaemnestra. But (1) εὐπραξίς, for εὐπραγία, is an incorrect form, and εὖ πράξις is no better: this objection has been frequently taken and many emendations are based on it: but further (2) γαῖας ἔρκος is not a possible description of a person or persons; in translation this is partly concealed by the use of the abstract 'defence', but ἔρκος is a *rampart or wall* and γαῖας ἔρκος a *town or fort*, as appears by Eur. *I. c.*; in no language could persons describe themselves without explanation as 'this fence' or 'this fort': (3) ἀγχιστον has then no point, and indeed the whole sentence, so taken, is beside the purpose.

270. σεβίζων...κράτος *i.e.* in obedience to her command. Here Clytaemnestra comes forth attended (see v. 363).

273—275. *Whether tidings good or not good prompt thee to celebrate this ceremony of hopeful announcement, I would gladly learn; though, if thou would'st keep the secret, I am content.* κεδνὸν literally 'a good thing', cf. θαυμαστὸν ποιεῖς, ἄτοπον λέγεις, etc. Kühner *Gk. Gr.* § 403.—With μὴ supply κεδνόν, as the

context and order of the words require. The elders, as persons worthy of the queen's confidence, wish to know whether her demonstration is genuine or a feint. She has intimated that she has good news; but as she has not disclosed it, the elders feel a very natural doubt whether in reality she is not merely trying to forestall and discredit a *bad* report which has reached her and must soon get abroad. That this is their doubt and the purport of their question is shown not only by the words of it, but by the addition οὐδὲ σιγῶσθι φθόνος. Only on the supposition that the news was really bad could the queen have any motive for such concealment. The elders, it must be remembered, are preoccupied with the dangers near home, to which they have just referred and afterwards more plainly refer. They attribute their fears to the queen, as, assuming her honesty, they must do; indeed she herself had pretended to share them (see v. 874).—εὐαγγέλοιςιν ἐλπίζουσιν, dative (Latin ablative) of circumstance, literally 'with fair-announcing hopes', *i.e.* with promising announcement; see v. 101, ἐκ θυσίων φαίνουσ' ἐλπίς.—εἰ τὸ (M. but corrected by the same hand) is a mere slip.—εἰ τι (*Auratus*) is widely adopted, with the interpretation 'But whether thou hast heard some good news, or hast not heard any, but art sacrificing in the *hope* of such' etc. But (1) the proper form to express this would be εἰ τι κεδνὸν πεπυσμένη, εἴτε μὴ, (2) the mere expectation of news would be no reasonable motive for the ceremony at all.

εὐαγγέλοισιν ἐλπίσιν θυηπολεῖς,
κλύοιμ' ἂν εὐφρων· οὐδὲ σιγῶση φθόνος.

275

ΚΑΤΤΑΙΜΗΣΤΡΑ.

εὐάγγελος μέν, ὥσπερ ἡ παροιμία,
ἕως γένοιτο μητρὸς εὐφρόνης πάρα.
πεύσει δὲ χάρμα μεῖζον ἐλπίδος κλύειν·
Πριάμου γὰρ ἡρήκασιν Ἀργεῖοι πόλιν.

ΧΟ. πῶς φής; πέφενγε τοῦπος ἐξ ἀπιστίας.

280

ΚΛ. Τροίαν Ἀχαιῶν οὖσαν· ἡ τορῶς λέγω;

ΧΟ. χαρά μ' ὑφέρπει δάκρυον ἐκκαλουμένην.

ΚΛ. εὖ γὰρ φρονούντος ὄμμα σοῦ κατηγορεῖ.

ΧΟ. τί γὰρ τὸ πιστόν; ἔστι τῶνδὲ σοι τέκμαρ;

ΚΛ. ἔστιν, τί δ' οὐχί; μὴ δολώσαντος θεοῦ.

285

ΧΟ. πότερα δ' ὀνείρων φάσματ' ἐπιπθῇ σέβεις;

ΚΛ. οὐδ' ὄψαν' ἂν λάβοιμι βριζούσης φρενός.

ΧΟ. ἀλλ' ἡ σ' ἐπ' ἰανέν τις ἄπτερος φάτις;

ΚΛ. παιδὸς νέας ὥς κάρτ' ἐμωμήσω φρένας.

286. εὐπειθεῖ corr. to εὐπειθῇ.

287. οὐ δόξαν.

276—278. She corrects their expression εὐαγγέλοισιν ἐλπίσιν, accepting εὐάγγελος with the remark that, according to the proverb, men look for good news in the morning, but rejecting ἐλπίς, as her news leaves nothing further to hope.—Note that the proverb involves a play upon the ambiguity of εὐφρόνη, *night* and *kindness* (Hesych. cf. δυσφρόνη), signifying 'May Night, according to her *kind* name, send her child Morning with a *kind* message!' (Sidgwick); and note also that this εὐφρόνη echoes the elder's εὐφρων.—μεῖζον...κλύειν *importing more than hope*, literally 'greater than hope to the hearing'. It is μεῖζον ἐλπίδος also in another sense 'greater than could be imagined', but this sense is only for the queen and the audience.

281. οὖσαν: cf. Soph. *El.* 676 θανόντ' Ὀρέστην νῦν τε καὶ πάλαί λέγω (Wecklein).

282—3. Emphasis on χαρά and οὐ εὖ. 'My tear is the tear of *joy*', 'Yes, it

is *loyal gladness* (not disloyal sorrow) of which thine eye accuses thee'.—κατηγορεῖ: the misapplication of the word sounds like a kindly jest, but is grim earnest. The loyalty of the elders is their crime, as they are soon to find.

284. This punctuation (Prien, Sidgwick) is demanded by the form of the answer ἔστιν.—τὸ πιστόν, 'what you rely on', *the proof*.

286. ἐπιπθῇ Blomfield, the correct form according to analogy.—ἐπιπθῇ σέβεις together, 'pay the respect of an easy credence to': ἐπιπθῇ literally 'easily believed'.—ὀνείρων, suggested by μὴ δολώσαντος θεοῦ: a false dream would be a 'miraculous deceit'.

287. See Appendix F.

288. ἐπ' ἰανεν, *has cheered or encouraged thee*, from ἐπ-ἰανω, where ἐπ' has the same force (*up to* a certain point) as in ἐπαίρω, and ἰανω its usual meaning (see L. and Sc. s. v. *laīnw*).—By an oversight this aorist is commonly referred to πιαίνω

ΧΟ. ποίου χρόνου δὲ καὶ πεπόρθηται πόλις; 290

ΚΛ. τῆς νῦν τεκούσης φῶς τόδ' εὐφρόνης λέγω.

ΧΟ. καὶ τίς τόδ' ἐξίκοιτ' ἂν ἀγγέλων τάχος;

ΚΛ. "Ηφαιστος, Ἰδης λαμπρὸν ἐκπέμπων σέλας
φρυκτὸς δὲ φρυκτὸν δεῦρ' ἀπ' ἀγγάρου πυρὸς
ἔπεμπεν. Ἰδῃ μὲν πρὸς Ἑρμαῖον λέπας 295
Λήμνου· μέγαν δὲ πανὸν ἐκ νήσου τρίτον
Ἀθῶν αἵπος Ζηνὸς ἐξεδέξατο

294. ἀγγέλου.

296. φανόν.

to fatten, taken in the sense of *puffing up*. The use of *παινω* and the connected words lends no support whatever to this supposed *métaphor*.—**ἄπτερος φάτις**. The context shows that this was some superstitious proof yet lower in the scale than a dream, probably something like 'a vague presentiment' (Paley, Kennedy). The meaning and origin of the phrase are unknown. It may or may not be derived from *πτερον* (either in the sense of *wing* or of *omen*), or connected with the Homeric τῇ δ' ἄπτερος ἔπλετο μῦθος, which in its turn is doubtful.—'A report not winged' like the dream-god, *i.e.* brought without any dream (Wecklein).—'An unspoken rumour', cf. *ἄπτερος μῦθος word unspoken* (Sidgwick).

290. **ποίου χρόνου** literally 'within what time lies the capture of the city?' *i.e.* how far back is it to be put?—**ποίου** as compared with *πόσου* or *τίνος* (*what sort of time*) gives the question the air of incredulous wonder. Compare the common use of *ποῖος* in contempt (L. and Sc. *s.v.*).—**καί**, emphasizing, assumes the fact, 'Since it *is* taken, since when *is* it?'

291. She points to the dawn just breaking.

294. **ἀγγάρου** Canter (*Δισχύλος γοῦν ἐν Ἀγαμέμνονι τὸν ἐκ διαδοχῆς πυρρὸν ἀπ' ἀγγάρου πυρὸς* ἔφη Et. M. p. 7) a Persian word describing the couriers who transmitted orders by successive stages. Herodotus (8, 98) like Aeschylus compares it to the Greek *λαμπαδηφορία* (*v.*

324).—On the story which follows see the Introduction § 1.

296. **πανόν** Casaubon. πρότερος δὲ τοῦτων Δισχύλος ἐν Ἀγαμέμνονι μέμνηται τοῦ πανοῦ, Athen. xv. p. 700 E.—**φανόν** is also good and classical; probably both are very ancient readings in this passage.

296—300. *And the huge beacon from Lemnos' isle was taken up thirdly by Zeus' mountain of Athos, with such a soaring pile of wood upon it, as might strengthen the travelling flame to pass joyously over the wide main.* The subject of ἐξεδέξατο is the whole phrase Ἀθῶν... πεύκη, 'Athos and its beacon' (a 'hendiadys' according to the grammatical phrase). *Note carefully that the conjunction is τε not δέ.* The periods of this narration are joined throughout, according to usage, by δέ. Here τε, also according to rule, couples not periods but words.—**ὑπερτελής** rising above all.—**πόντον... ἡδονήν**. This explains and gives the ground for *ὑπερτελής*. Clytaemnestra, vaguely aware that in this leap of the Aegaeon she must be making a strong demand upon the faith of her hearers, enforces her statement with an explanation as to the size and height of this particular beacon.—**πόντον** properly 'the open sea'; note the emphasis on it.—**ισχύς**, in apposition to *πεύκη*, 'strength to the flame' for 'strengthening the flame'; cf. *Theb.* 256 ὀλοολυγμόν, θάρσος φίλοις 'the cry which encourages friends', *Ag.* 566 δρόσοι, σίνος ἐσθημάτων 'water, mischievous to garments' etc.—**πορευτοῦ...**

ὑπερτελής τε (πόντον ὥστε νωτίσαι
 ἰσχύς πορευτοῦ λαμπάδος πρὸς ἡδονήν)
 πεύκη, τὸ χρυσοφεγγές ὥς τις ἥλιος
 σέλας παραγγείλασα Μακίστου σκοπᾶς
 ὃ δ' οὔτι μέλλων οὐδ' ἀφρασμόνως ὕπνω

300

πρὸς ἡδονήν 'travelling unreluctantly' (οὐ πρὸς βίαν), not fearing the distance, as it were. This is in effect a predicate; the flame 'travelled gladly' because 'strengthened'. πορευτοῦ gen. of πορευτής, here an adj.—πεύκη: usually a 'torch' of pine-wood, but here extended, like λαμπάς etc., to a 'bonfire' of the same, from the necessity in this narrative of varying the term.—See also next note.

300—301: *which, with the golden light as it were of a sun, blazed on the message to the outlook on Makistos.* τὸ χρυσοφεγγές...ἥλιος literally 'as a sun its golden light', the verb (*sends*) being supplied from παραγγείλασα. This is the better distribution. If τὸ χρυσοφεγγές be taken with σέλας, the article τὸ is needless and not according to the usage of Aeschylus. With the above distribution it is of course indispensable.—σκοπᾶς. Commonly even in poetry this accusative of place is found only with verbs of 'motion to', and not with verbs such as παραγγέλλω: and for this reason some read σκοπαῖς. But considering the strong and peculiar metaphorical language of this passage, which represents the beacons throughout as a series of *couriers*, actually travelling with the message from post to post (note πορευτοῦ in this very sentence), the accusative case is really much better suited to the special purpose than the dative. To put the same thing otherwise, παραγγέλλω here means not 'to give a message' but 'to go with a message' and therefore takes the construction of a verb of motion.—παραγγείλασα. The tense follows according to usage that of ἐξεδέξατο.

All recent editions treat this passage as corrupt, on the ground that ὑπερτελής τε...σκοπᾶς, being a fresh clause with a

fresh subject, requires a fresh verb. On this criticism, which is of long standing, Hermann's neglected remark seems to me perfectly conclusive: 'Nam δέ si legeretur, requireretur verbum pro nomine πεύκη....Nunc vero, τε posito, ἐξεδέξατο etiam ad sequentia refertur'. Throughout the passage τε and δέ are used in the normal way, τε in *v.* 315 to couple two verbs having the same subject, δέ everywhere between clause and clause. If a verb is to be inserted here, τε must be changed to δέ. It is surely quite improbable that the error which removed the verb should have coincided with a harmonious error in the conjunction. Moreover the text expresses the meaning intended, and divided clauses would not. The high mountain *and* the vast beacon are intentionally coupled, as jointly accomplishing the prodigious task.

301. Μακίστου· ἔπος Εὐβοίας schol. Mr Sidgwick says 'in *southern* Euboea', Wecklein 'probably in the north' (as the nearer part to Athos). As the distance is impossible in any case, the question is of little moment; but it may be observed that the mountain by its name would seem to have been 'the highest', or so supposed, in the island; the highest part is about the centre, near Chalcis.

302. ὃ δέ: Makistos, *i.e.*, in the literalness of prose, the watchers thereon.—Here the story becomes comparatively reasonable. Of the country between Argos and Aulis Clytaemnestra and the elders might naturally be supposed to have some knowledge. The distances are indeed, as the queen says, full long (ἐκάς...πρόσω) running up to about 25 miles; in a real system other stages would probably have been interpolated for safety; but her conception is conceivable. It

νικώμενος παρήκεν ἀγγέλου μέρος·
 ἐκὰς δὲ φρυκτοῦ φῶς ἐπ' Εὐρίπου ῥοὰς
 Μεσσαπίου φύλαξι σημαίνει μολόν. 305
 οὐδ' ἀντέλαμψαν καὶ παρήγγειλαν πρόσω
 γραίας ἐρείκης θωμὸν ἄψαντες πυρί.
 σθένουσα λαμπὰς δ' οὐδέπω μαυρουμένη,
 ὑπερθοροῦσα πεδίον ..ωποῦ, δίκην
 φαιδρᾶς σελήνης, πρὸς Κιθαιρῶνος λέπας 310
 ἡγειρεν ἄλλην ἐκδοχὴν πομποῦ πυρός.
 φάος δὲ τηλέπομπον οὐκ ἡναίμετο
 φρουρά, πλέον καίουσα τῶν εἰρημένων·
 λίμνην δ' ὑπὲρ Γοργῶπιν ἔσκηψεν φάος
 ὄρος τ' ἐπ' Αἰγίπλαγκτον ἐξικνούμενον 315

309. παιδίον ὥποῦ.

adds a last touch of unreality to the foregoing narrative, that she should describe the transit from Messapius (N. Boeotia) to Cithaeron as 'far'. It is rather far for the purpose, but compared with the preceding stages it is quite close.

303. παρήκεν *neglected*.—The rendering 'sent on' (Paley) lacks authority.

308. σθένουσα *taking strength* afresh from the fuel of Messapius; cf. *ισχύς* in *v.* 290.—It is the close relation of these words (σθένουσα λαμπὰς) to the preceding sentence which justifies to the ear the position of the conjunction: they are really a separate clause, 'and the beacon took strength therefrom, and' etc.

309. πεδίον.....ωποῦ. The defective word may be read either Ὠρωποῦ, as by Turnebus, or Ἀσωποῦ, as by the writers of the later MSS. The first reading has the technical advantage of accounting much better for the loss of the letters by similarity of syllables. On the other hand the later MSS. may in such a case well represent a tradition. The 'plain of the river Asopus' is the better description, having regard to the geography. But on the other hand 'the plain of Oropus', properly the maritime part of the plain of the Asopus, was claimed and generally possessed by Athens, so that to name the

whole from Oropus would have a popular sound to Athenian ears. The question is not important.

313. φρουρά: the watchers on Cithaeron.—πλέον καίουσα τῶν εἰρημένων 'making a fire larger than was enjoined' (Weil), literally 'more than what was bidden them (τὰ εἰρημένα)'. These words confirm and extend the phrase of the previous line οὐκ ἡναίμετο, 'denied not' or 'disowned not'. In their enthusiasm the watchmen of Cithaeron, so far from showing reluctance, actually exceeded their instructions. See further Appendix G.

314. Γοργῶπιν: apparently a bay or estuary in the territory of Megara, N. E. of the Corinthian gulf.—λίμνην φασὶν εἶναι ἐν Κορίνθῳ, Hesychius; but the description must be very inaccurate, if it refers to the λίμνη here mentioned.

315. Αἰγίπλαγκτον: obviously part of Geranea in the Megarid. ὄρος Μεγαρίδος schol.

316: urged him to exact strictly the commanded fire. The fire from Cithaeron strives to rouse an enthusiasm like its own in others less ready. The receiving mountain is personified, like Μάκιστος in *v.* 301, but with a difference of character.—θεσμὸν μὴ χαρίζεσθαι πυρός literally

ᾧτρυνε θεσμὸν μὴ χαρίζεσθαι πυρός.
 πέμπουσι δ' ἀνδαίοντες ἀφθόνῳ μένει
 φλογὸς μέγαν πώγωνα, καὶ Σαρωνικοῦ
 πορθμοῦ κάτοπτον πρῶν' ὑπερβάλλειν πρόσω
 φλέγουσαν· εἴτ' ἔσκηψεν, εἴτ' ἀφίκετο
 Ἄραχναῖον αἶπος, ἀστυγείτονας σκοπᾶς·
 κᾶπειτ' Ἀτρειδῶν ἐς τό γε σκήπτει στέγος

320

319. κάτοπτρον.

'not to remit (to himself or his watch) the commandment of fire'. The use of *χαρίζεσθαι* here is generally condemned, but I think wrongly. The sense and common constructions of the verb are closely similar to those of *πολεσθαι*, and of such Latin verbs as *indulgere*, *remittere*, *condonare*, etc. We have on the one hand *χαρίζεσθαι τι τινι* 'to give up, surrender, sacrifice', and on the other hand *χαρίζεσθαι τινι* 'to be indulgent to, not strict with', as in *χαρίζεσθαι ἵππῳ indulgere equo*. From these we might fairly have inferred, as an extension of usage possible in poetic language, such a phrase as *χαρίζεσθαι θεσμὸν (τινι) remittere imperium (alicui)* 'to let an order be neglected', and we may easily accept it when it actually occurs.—Among the many corrections may be mentioned *μὴ χρονίζεσθαι* Paley (making *θεσμὸν* the object of *ᾧτρυνε*), *μηχανήσασθαι* Margoliouth, but there are objections to both. *μὴ χαρίζεσθαι* Heath, 'not to be wanting', is, to judge by examples, an impossible form.

318—322. *A flame like a great beard, which could even overpass, so far it flamed, the headland which looks down upon the Saronic gulf, and thus alight then, and only then, when it reached the outlook, neighbouring to our city, upon the Arachnaean peak, whence next it lighted (at last!) here upon our royal roof.—κάτοπτον* Canter. The genitive is governed by the preposition. Note that the word, like very many 'active' forms in *-τος*, corresponds to a verb also of 'depo-

nent' form, *δύσσομαι*.—The 'headland' should be 'the high coast on the S. side of the bay of Cenchrea' (Wecklein).—*καὶ...ὑπερβάλλειν*, i.e. ὥστε αὐτὴν καὶ ὑπερβάλλειν, a consecutive infinitive depending on the whole previous sentence, and specially upon *μέγαν*.—*φλέγουσαν* feminine, not masculine, because *φλογὸς* is the really substantive word, *μέγαν πώγωνα* being merely descriptive and adjectival, and therefore *αὐτὴν*, not *αὐτόν*, is the pronoun supplied (Paley, Sidgwick). To have said *φλέγοντα* would have been almost grotesque; it was not by virtue of its resemblance to a beard that the flame travelled far.—*εἴτ' ἔσκηψεν*, *εἴτ' ἀφίκετο*. In a sentence of symmetrical and prosaic form these clauses would be parallel with the infinitive, as thus, ὥστε πρῶνα μὲν ὑπερβάλλειν, εἴτα δὲ σκῆψαι καὶ ἀφίκεσθαι κτλ. (The point made is that the courier-fire, eager to finish the long journey, 'ran in home' as it were, and would not after Aegiplantus make a natural but unnecessary stop.) By a usage very common in poetry the second parallel clause is turned for variety into an independent sentence, and the effect is further strengthened by the omission (also common) of *μέν...δέ*, and by the rhetorical repetition of *εἴτα* in place of the simple copula *καί*.—*ἔπειτα* in v. 322 points back to *εἴτα* in v. 320, 'then...after then': they mark as it were the last stage and the very last.—*τό γε* i.e. τοῦτό γε: τό demonstrative, several times used in Aeschylus. The particle *γε* (literally 'to the roof of

φάος τόδ' οὐκ ἄπαππον Ἰδαίου πυρός.
 τοιοῖδε τοί μοι λαμπαδηφόρων νόμοι,
 ἄλλος παρ' ἄλλου διαδοχαῖς πληρούμενοι·
 νικᾷ δ' ὁ πρῶτος καὶ τελευταῖος δραμών.
 τέκμαρ τοιοῦτον σύμβολόν τέ σοι λέγω
 ἀνδρὸς παραγγείλαντος ἐκ Τροίας ἐμοί.

325

XO. θεοῖς μὲν αὔθις, ὦ γύναι, προσεύξομαι·
 λόγους δ' ἀκοῦσαι τούσδε κάποθανμάσαι
 διηνεκῶς θέλοιμ' ἄν, ὥς λέγοις, πάλιν.

330

323—1050. Readings of f.

324. τοιοῖδ' ἔτυμοι.

the Atridae this at least') is just what is wanted to give to the close the animation of poetic feeling. This time *at least*, after being often sent on, the far-travelled messenger had indeed arrived.—The later MSS. give the commonplace τόδε, but M, unhappily about to fail from this point till v. 1050, here gives a last assistance, which should not be refused.—To write, with Hermann and others, in v. 322 *ἔστ' ἔσκηψεν*, *εὐτ' ἀφίκετο*, 'till it lighted, when it arrived', or to make any change at all, is unnecessary and injurious. The repetitions *φλογὸς...φλέγουσαν*, *εἴτ' ἔσκηψεν...ἔπειτα σκήπτει* are not negligent but calculated; it is natural rhetoric slightly overdone, as here it should be.

323: *the light there, which shows a pedigree from the beacon upon Ida.* **φάος τόδε**: she points to Arachnaeus, behind which, to add effect to her words, the elders might now see the beginning of day. It is the place of the beacon which helps to suggest the comparison of it, on its first appearance, to the dawn, v. 22.—**οὐκ...πυρός** literally 'not without an ancestor in the beacon of Ida'. The genitive depends on the privative force of the adjective.—The negative turn of this jesting phrase is for the ears of the audience. As a fact, the beacon was *ἄπαππον*, and had no 'ancestry' at all, but it has supplied the defect, as others will do, by a little invention, *ἔφυσε πάππους* in the phrase of Aristophanes

(*Birds* 765), and so is *ἄπαππον* no longer.

324. **τοιοῖδε τοί μοι** Schütz. **τοιοῖδ' ἔτοιμοι** a. It would scarcely be appropriate here to say of the runners that they *are* ready.—**λαμπαδηφόρων**. In the race called *λαμπαδηφορία* a chain of runners, posted at intervals, passed a lighted torch from the start to the goal. The chain won which accomplished this in the shortest time, provided that the torch was kept alight. (There were several forms of the race, but this is plainly the method meant here.) The custom was specially popular at Athens (Wecklein), and offers a natural illustration of the fire-message passed from mountain to mountain.

326. *But the victor is the runner who ran first and last.* See Appendix H.

329—331. The elders are so astonished that they scarcely know what to think or say, and one of them tries to draw from the queen some 'more details' (Sidgwick) on the subject of the beacons, putting the request delicately in the form of a compliment to her narration. Naturally he does not succeed. The thoughts of the queen are gone away to the absent ones 'in Troy'!—**θεοῖς...προσεύξομαι**: this is to guard, so far as may be, against the appearance of disbelief. He will act upon the queen's testimony presently, when he has heard it again.—**αὖθις**, *later, afterwards*.—**λόγους...πάλιν**: *but*

ΚΛ. Τροίαν Ἀχαιοὶ τῇδ' ἔχουσ' ἐν ἡμέρᾳ.
οἶμαι βοὴν ἄμικτον ἐν πόλει πρέπειν.
ῥῆξος τ' ἄλειφά τ' ἐκχέας ταύτῳ κύτει
διχοστατοῦντ' ἄν οὐ φίλως προσεννέποις· 335
καὶ τῶν ἀλόντων καὶ κρατησάντων δίχα

*this story—I would fain satisfy my wonder by hearing it repeated (in your way of telling) from point to point.—ἀποθαυμάσαι to admire fully.—διηνεκῶς: both 'clearly' and 'continuously', without anything omitted. (See L. and Sc. s.v.) Note the emphasis.—ὡς λέγοις as you would tell it. The mood of λέγοις follows that of θέλωμι ἄν on the same principle which determines ἐπεὶ γένουτ' ἄν κλύοις (v. 264), the whole action lying in the same hypothetical time. Sidgwick compares Plato *Men.* 92 C πῶς ἂν εἰδελὺς περὶ τούτου οὐ ἀπειροί εἴης; 'how could you know that of which (*ex hypothesi*) you have no experience?'—ὡς λέγεις a, εἰ λέγοις Blomfield, οὓς λέγεις Bothe, are simple, but for this reason not likely.*

332. On the significance of this speech see the Introduction. The scene at this point upon the stage, the contrasted attitudes of the two parties (see on v. 363), themselves διχοστατοῦντες οὐ φίλως, and the painful interest with which, for different reasons, they all mark the words and behaviour of the queen, would make, well-acted, a moment of almost intolerable tension and excitement.

333. ἄμικτον *that will not blend.*

334—336. ῥῆξος τε...καὶ τῶν ἀλόντων: τε and καὶ here answer to each other like 'as' and 'so'. The sentence has no conjunction, as being only an expansion or explanation of the word ἄμικτον.

334. ἐκχέας ταύτῳ κύτει *shouldst thou pour out oil and vinegar with the same vessel, i.e. put them into the same vase or bottle and pour them from it together. The dative is instrumental.—It is by no means clear that this should be changed (as by Canter and in all recent texts) to ἐγχέας. The text is*

correct in language, and the strong repulsion of the two ingredients would be much more conspicuous in the pouring out of a mixture (as upon a plate) than in the pouring in. The very familiarity of ἐγχέας with the dative, which has prompted the change, is an argument against it: ἐκχέας is an improbable error.

335: *thou wouldst exclaim at their unfriendly parting*, literally 'wouldst accost them as (persons) parting not like friends', an expression of studied irony for a violent mutual repulsion.—Note that the use of προσεννέπειν (*to name, apostrophize*) διχοστατοῦντε is perfectly natural in a language which habitually used the participial apostrophe (e.g. Eur. *Tro.* 1168 ὦ μείζον' ὄγκον δορὸς ἔχοντες ἢ φρενῶν) as a form of emphasis. It means much more than 'thou wouldst say that they parted'.—Note also that διχοστατεῖν οὐ φίλως is a legitimate expression only on the assumption that διχοστατεῖν φίλως would have a meaning. In *Theb.* 918 (where see note) we have the term διατομαὶ φίλαι (and οὐ φίλαι) for a partition, friendly or unfriendly, between joint occupiers of land. It is likely that a similar metaphor lies behind the language here, and that διχοστατεῖν φίλως meant a 'friendly dissolution', as of partnership or marriage.—οὐ φίλω (Auratus and others) simplifies the language, but at the expense of its significance.

336. τῶν ἀλόντων καὶ κρατησάντων. Observe that this collective expression is correct and not put, by license, for τῶν ἀλόντων καὶ τῶν κρατησάντων. The comparison is between the compound of oil and vinegar (which will not blend) and the ensemble of victors and vanquished (which would make upon one who could

φθογγὰς ἀκούειν ἔστι συμφορὰς διπλῆς.
οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἀμφὶ σώμασιν πεπτωκότες
ἀνδρῶν κασιγνήτων τε καὶ φυταλμίων,
παῖδες γερόντων, οὐκέτ' ἐξ ἐλευθέρου
δέρης ἀποιμώζουσι φιλτάτων μόρον.
τοὺς δ' αὖτε νυκτίπλαγκτος ἐκ μάχης πόνος
νῆστις πρὸς ἀρίστοισιν ὧν ἔχει πόλις
τάσσει, πρὸς οὐδέν ἐν μέρει τεκμήριον,

340

hear the sound of it not a single harmonious impression but two distinct).—**δίχα** emphatic, with ἀκούειν: the two voices 'may be heard distinctly', or 'separately'.

338. **οἱ μὲν**: the living captives would be chiefly or solely (particularly in the case of Troy) women and girls; but the generic description of them as the vanquished party (**οἱ ἀλόντες**) is nevertheless naturally masculine.

339: *husbands, brothers, fathers, and sons*. The gender of **ἀνὴρ** is to be extended throughout. **φυταλμίων** is a substantive, like **κασιγνήτων**. The word means properly 'connected with geniture'; so in Soph. *O.C.* 150 ἀλαῶν ὀμμάτων ἄρα καὶ ἦσθα φυτάλμιος; *wast thou sightless even from birth?* Here it is used with the assistance of the context to mean 'relations by geniture' (*i.e.* parents, children, etc.), in order to abbreviate and vary the catalogue. So **κασιγνήτων** is properly 'collaterals', brothers, cousins, etc.

340. **παῖδες γερόντων** *children bewailing aged*; not that *all* the captives were children, or *all* the slain aged. The phrase merely signalizes the most pathetic figures, among the captives the orphan children, among the slain those whose years might have saved them, but did not, from the indiscriminate massacre.—The common punctuation **φυταλμίων παῖδες γερόντων** (or the correction **φυτάλμοι παίδων γέροντες** Weil) misses the intended sense of **φυταλμίων**. A better correction is that of Karsten **παίδων γερόντων** *both young and old, i.e.* of all ages, but it is not desirable.

341. **δέρης**, both *neck* and *throat* (Eur. *Or.* 41 οὔτε σῖτα διὰ δέρης ἐδέξατο Wecklein), here combines the two meanings. With οὐκέτ' ἐλευθέρου it is *neck*, the metaphor being that of the yoke, with ἀποιμώζουσι *throat*. No English word will exactly fit.—**ἀποιμώζουσι**: not *bewail loudly* (L. and Sc.), which is disproved by Eur. *Med.* 31 αὐτὴ πρὸς αὐτὴν πατέρ' ἀποιμώζει φίλον, but *bewail away, i.e.* 'bewail desperately, as lost'. This suits all the places from which it is cited; *e.g.* Antiphon 134. 15 ἀψώμωξεν ἐμέ τε καὶ αὐτὸν ὥς ἀπολλυμένους, and Aeschyl. *fr.* 128, where as here it refers to the dead, 'Ἀντίλοχ' ἀπολωξὼν με τοῦ τεθνηκότος τὸν ζῶντα μάλλον.

343. **νῆστις**. The expression *hungry toil* is not so alien from Aeschylus as to require us to read (as in many texts) *νήστεις*. In point of MS. authority, the difference between *νήστεις* and *νήστις* is immaterial, *ι* and *ει* being almost indifferent symbols in the Aeschylean MSS., but it is not clear that Aeschylus would have used the form *νήστεις*, particularly for the *accusative* case; the proper forms are *νήστιδας* and *νήστιας*.—**ὧν ἔχει πόλις**. The besiegers are starving (see *v.* 132), and the long-beleaguered city offers but little.

344: *not in order according to billet*. The casual banquet of the famished plunderers, establishing themselves in the first house where they find food, is contrasted with the orderliness of a well-appointed army distributed to quarters by 'token' or 'billet'. Hence the anti-

ἀλλ' ὡς ἕκαστος ἔσπασεν τύχης πάλον 345
 ἐν αἰχμαλώτοις Τρωικοῖς οἰκήμασιν
 ναίουσιν ἤδη, τῶν ὑπαιθρίων πάγων
 δρόσων τ' ἀπαλλαγέντες ὡς δυσδαίμονες·
 ἀφύλακτον εὐδήσουσι πᾶσαν εὐφρόνην.
 εἰ δ' εὖ σέβουσι τοὺς πολισσούχους θεοὺς 350
 τοὺς τῆς ἀλούσης γῆς θεῶν θ' ἰδρύματα,
 οὐ καὶ ἐλόντες αὖθις ἀνθαλοῖεν ἄν.

350. εὐσεβοῦσι.

352. οὐκ ἂν γ'. αὐθάνοιεν.

thesis of ἀλλ'...ἤδη. Probably the word τεκμήριον was technical.

345—347. *Rather by such chance as falls to each eager hand they are installing themselves forthwith in the captured houses of Troy.* ὡς ἕκαστος...πάλον literally 'as each has snatched a lot' i.e. according to the fortune of each, the violent word ἔσπασεν being used for 'drawing' a lot as a mark of eagerness.—αἰχμαλώτοις: the epithet, like ὧν ἔχει πόλιν, denotes the misery of the comforts to which the victors fly. The houses are such as they would be when carried after a desperate night of fire and sword. It is worth while to remember that in the time of Aeschylus the private buildings of the Greeks, even in great cities, were very poor and slight in construction.—ἤδη again marks their impatience.

347—349: *glad of such poor deliverance from the frosts and dews of the open air. With no watch to keep they will sleep the whole night long.* ἀπαλλαγέντες ὡς δυσδαίμονες, literally 'ridding themselves as poor wretches may', where ὡς has the same qualifying sense as in ἀγαθὸς ἄνθρωπος Λακεδαιμόνιος 'a good man for a Lacedaemonian' and the like.—τῶν ὑπαιθρίων neuter, gen. of τὰ ὑπαίθρια, to which πάγων δρόσων τε stands in apposition, 'the conditions of the open air, frost and dew'; cf. τῶν ποικίλων v. 917; hence the article, which otherwise would be inadmissible.—ἀφύλακτον.....εὐφρόνην 'a night being watchless, they will sleep it all'. Note the emphatic position of

ἀφύλακτον, a predicate and equivalent to ἀφύλακτον οὖσαν. This explains further the meaning of ὡς δυσδαίμονες: after the exposure of the camp and the weariness of the watch the soldiers are not nice enough to disdain the wrecked houses. The mere security will give them an unbroken night. Such an explanatory sentence is properly written without any conjunction.—δυντες πρότερον δηλονότι δυστυχεῖς νῦν ἀμερίμνως εὐδήσουσι (schol. on v. 348) is near the mark, though it assumes the wrong punctuation ἀπαλλαγέντες, ὡς...εὐφρόνην which is that of the MSS. This requires a conjunction; hence ὡς δ' εὐδαίμονες Stanley, which gives the same sense in another way but is no improvement and does not account for the MS. reading.—ἀπαλλαχθέντες a. Both forms are good.

350. εὖ σέβουσι Scaliger and Porson, εὐσεβοῦσι MSS. The first accentuation is perhaps the safer, as the evidence for the transitive εὐσεβεῖν is not conclusive (see L. and Sc. s. v.).—Note carefully that it is εἰ σέβουσι, not ἤν σέβωσι. The English *if they observe*, standing for both, easily misleads. The captors are doing as they should, or otherwise, while Clytaemnestra speaks (according to her pretended assumption). We have no neat way of expressing the difference, but it is very important.

352. οὐ καὶ. The emphasizing καὶ belongs to ἐλόντες (*even* after conquest), ἂν being attached to it according to custom, 'they will escape a ruinous ending

ἔρως δὲ μή τις πρότερον ἐμπίπτῃ στρατῷ
 πορθεῖν τὰ μὴ χρή κέρδεσιν νικωμένους·
 δεῖ γὰρ πρὸς οἴκους νοστήμου σωτηρίας,
 κάμψαι διαύλου θάτερον κῶλον πάλιν.
 θεοὺς δ' ἀναμπλάκητος εἰ μόλοι στρατός,
 ἐγρήγορον τὸ πῆμα τῶν ὀλωλότων·
 γένοιτ' ἄν, εἰ πρόσπαια μὴ τύχοι, κακά.

355

354. ᾄ.

of their victory after all'.—οὐ τᾶν Hermann. *τοι* is admissible, as the phrase is likely enough to have been familiar, but the MSS. are for *κᾶν*. οὐκ ἀνελόντες *a* (a natural error), οὐκ ἂν γ' ἐλόντες *f h* (a correction).—ἀνθαλοῖεν Auratus. ἀνθά-
 νοιεν *a*.

353. ἔρως μή τις...ἐμπίπτῃ: *the desire, it is to be feared, may come upon them*. On *μή* with the *present* subjunctive, in a principal sentence, expressing an anticipation or suspicion about the future, see on *Theb.* 183. The translation by the imperative must be carefully avoided, being confined to the *aorist* subjunctive.—The sin of the victors in this respect (*v.* 532) is doubly connected with the sequel; it was punished by the disaster of the fleet, and it led to the capture of Cassandra, who was torn from sanctuary.

354. τὰ μὴ χρῆ *a*, ᾄ μὴ χρῆ *f*. There seems no reason to doubt that the older relative *τὰ* was used here, as in *v.* 531 Διὸς μακέλλῃ, τῇ κατείργασται πέδον. The substitution of the familiar *ᾄ* is of no significance; the opposite error would be unaccountable.

355. The genitive *σωτηρίας* and the infinitive *κάμψαι* both depend upon *δεῖ*, the infinitive clause translating the literal *σωτηρίας πρὸς οἴκους* into a popular metaphor from the *diaulos* or double race-course.—*κάμψαι κῶλον*: as we might say to 'make the second half of your round' or 'lap'. *κάμψαι* is transitive.

357—358. 'And if the army return without offence against the gods, the wrong of the dead is on the watch'.

Note the contrasted emphasis on the words placed first and last, *θεοὺς...τῶν ὀλωλότων*. The meaning is this: the ruin of Troy and the slaughter of her population naturally cry for vengeance and expose the victors, according to the doctrine of Nemesis, to especial danger at this time. They have therefore little need to increase this danger, which is already 'watching its opportunity', by plundering the sanctuaries and thus incurring the avoidable anger of the gods. But for the queen herself, who proposes to avenge her daughter, and for the conspirators, infuriated by the sacrifice of lives in the war, 'the wrong of the dead' has another meaning.—The apodosis to *εἰ μόλοι*, 'they may suffer the vengeance of the dead', is not expressly stated in the following clause but, as often in all languages, implied.—*ἐγρήγορον*. The misformed adjective *ἐγρήγορος* (whence the late verb *ἐγρηγορέω*) can scarcely be as old as Aeschylus, though such are the vagaries of language that it is difficult to trust analogy against positive documentary evidence in matters of this kind. Either *ἐγρηγορός* (Porson) or *ἐγρήγορεν* should probably be read; if the first, we still supply *ἔστι*.—For the metaphor cf. Eur. *El.* 41 *εὐδοντ' ἂν ἐξήγειρε τὸν Ἀγαμέμνονος φόνον* (Paley), for the use of *πῆμα* Soph. *El.* 258 *πατρῶα πῆματα* 'my father's wrongs'.

359. *Evil may find accomplishment, if it fall not at once, i.e.* 'postponed is not prevented', a quasi-proverbial turn of expression, repeating the thought of

τοιαῦτά τοι γυναικὸς ἐξ ἑμοῦ κλύουσιν
τὸ δ' εὖ κρατοίη μὴ διχορρόπως ἰδεῖν.
πολλῶν γὰρ ἐσθλῶν τὴν ὄνησιν εἰλόμην.

360

ΧΟ. β'. γύναι, κατ' ἄνδρα σῶφρον' εὐφρόνως λέγεις.

the previous lines (and therefore without copula) 'the victors will be in danger for some time yet'.—**γένοιτο** ἄν with emphasis 'may be actually accomplished', cf. *v.* 264 *ἐπεὶ γένοιτο* 'when it is actually accomplished'.—**πρόσπαυα** 'sudden, off-hand', here a secondary predicate and placed with emphasis in its clause accordingly.—In this and the preceding clause *εἰ* is in effect *concessive* and equivalent to the more exact *καὶ εἰ* of common use (see Kühner, *Greek Grammar*, § 578, note 2).

For further discussion of *vv.* 357—359 see Appendix I.

360—361. *But for all these my womanish words, may the good triumph, plain and clear of all doubt.* Conscious of the thoughts covered by this pretence of solicitude for the absent, she breaks off and dismisses it with a light self-reproach. It will prove, she trusts, no more than the nervousness of a woman.—**κλύουσιν**. *κλύει* *a* (as in *v.* 331 *λέγεις* for *λέγους*), to get a construction simpler in appearance. But the optative is right. The mistake arises from stopping off *v.* 360 as a separate sentence. It is related as a concessive clause to *v.* 361 and would in common parlance require *μέν*, thus: *τοιαῦτα μὲν κλύουσιν τὸ δ' εὖ κρατοίη, ἰ.ε.* literally 'I pray that thou mayest hear such words and yet the good triumph', or in English form 'I pray that, though thou hearest such words, the good may triumph'. The propriety of the optative may be made more clear, according to English conceptions, by paraphrasing the second clause; *οὕτω τὰ τοιαῦτα κλύουσιν ὥστε κρατεῖν τὸ εὖ*. See a precise parallel in *αἴλιον εἰπέ, τὸ δ' εὖ νικάτω* (*Anglice* 'though the dirge must be uttered, let the good win'), a saying (note *τοῖ*) which is actually in the speaker's mind. *κλύει* disturbs the relation of the clauses, and

though simple in appearance is in reality more obscure.

362. *For this choice gives me the enjoyment of more blessings than one.* 'Den Genuss von vielen Guten erwähle ich mir damit' (Wecklein, reading *τῇνδε*). The emphasis is on *πολλῶν*, and the construction is *εἰλόμην τὴν* (*ἰ.ε.* *ταύτην τὴν ὄνησιν*) *ὄνησιν* (*οὖσαν*) *πολλῶν ἐσθλῶν*. The demonstrative follows, according to rule, the gender of the predicate *ὄνησιν*. Ostensibly this phrase (probably proverbial) means no more than that *τὸ εὖ* covers everything desirable: to Clytaemnestra it means that more senses than one can be put upon *τὸ εὖ*.—**εἰλόμην**: the aorist refers to the moment before, and to the preceding wish.—*τῇνδ'* Hermann; but I think, with Kennedy, that the archaic demonstrative should be retained.—Another possible rendering of the words is 'I prefer that my enjoyment should be an enjoyment of *many* blessings (not few)', *ἰ.ε.* 'of what is good one would have as much as may be'. The remark will then refer specially to *μὴ διχορρόπως ἰδεῖν*. The victory is a sure *ἐσθλόν*: if *all* turns out well, so much the better. Here *εἰλόμην* would be not a past tense but the *timeless* aorist, near akin to the gnomic, referring to a permanent, habitual choice, made not at this moment but as a general principle; cf. Eur. *Med.* 395 *τὴν δέσποιναν ἣν ἐγὼ σέβω μάλιστα πάντων καὶ ξυνεργὸν εἰλόμην*. Yet other renderings might be suggested, and in fact the words are, as proverbs are apt to be for those not familiar with them, decidedly obscure. But the first interpretation is prevalent and seems the best.

363. ΧΟΡΟΣ β'. On the question who are the speakers here, and how the following scene is to be conceived, see Appendix J.

ἐγὼ δ' ἀκούσας πιστά σου τεκμήρια
θεοὺς προσειπεῖν εὖ παρασκευάζομαι· 365
χάρις γὰρ οὐκ ἄτιμος εἴργασται πόνων.

ὦ Ζεῦ βασιλεῦ καὶ νύξ φίλια,
μεγάλων κόσμων κτεάτειρα,
ἥτ' ἐπὶ Τροίας πύργοις ἔβαλες
στεγανὸν δίκτυον, ὥς μήτε μέγαν 370
μήτ' οὖν νεαρῶν τιν' ὑπερτελέσαι
μέγα δουλείας
γάγγαμον ἄτης παναλώτου.
Δία τοι ξένιον μέγαν αἰδοῦμαι
τὸν τάδε πράξαντ' ἐπ' Ἀλεξάνδρῳ 375
τείνοντα πάλαι τόξον, ὅπως ἂν
μήτε πρὸ καιροῦ μήθ' ὑπὲρ ἄστρον

365. προσειπεῖν εὖ *to praise*.

366. *For there hath been wrought (by the gods) a return in full for our pains.* οὐκ ἄτιμος 'not inadequate' (Paley), literally 'not without the value' of the trouble spent.—πόνων depends directly upon χάρις, though relative in sense to ἄτιμος.

367—378. Clytaemnestra retires. During this anapaestic march, sung by the sub-chorus, the principal chorus of elders are moving into their position for the following hymn.—νύξ φίλια. All this passage takes a poignant irony from the fact that it is really Argos and the elders, not Troy and her people, who are enslaved by the work of this 'gracious night'.

370. στεγανὸν...ὥς *i.e.* ὥστε, *so close that etc.*—μέγαν *full-grown*.

371. μήτ' οὖν 'nor if it comes to that': this is the full force of the expression, but we have no English equivalent that is not cumbrous.—μήτ' οὖν...τινά. Here the irony of the situation turns against the singers. The conspiracy which enthrones Clytaemnestra and Aegisthus is the work of the younger generation (*νεαροί*, see the Introduction). Their own language here

might remind them that tyrants are seldom grateful and that those who set up cannot always pull down.

373. ἄτης παναλώτου genitive 'of equivalent' or 'of quality' depending upon the whole phrase μέγα δ. γάγγαμον (not in apposition to δουλείας).

374. μέγαν αἰδοῦμαι: the adj. is a predicate, 'I bow before his greatness'.—Note that αἰδοῦμαι signifies properly a feeling of shame. Now that the delay of vengeance proves to have been only the delay of the archer taking a long sure aim they are ashamed of all previous doubts.

375: *who hath wrought this vengeance because of Paris' sin.* See on *vv.* 69, 714.

376. ὅπως ἂν...σκήψειεν. The shade of difference, whatever it was, which distinguished the final optative with ἂν from the final optative without it, was not felt to be worth retaining, and in Attic prose ὅπως σκήψειεν only would be admitted. To Aeschylus the older type was probably merely an archaism and, as such, part of the poetic style.

377. πρὸ καιροῦ *before (i.e. short of) the mark*: cf. *v.* 778. ὑπὲρ ἄστρον hyperbole for 'too high'.—This is the usual interpretation of πρὸ καιροῦ. Mr

βέλος ἡλίθιον σκήψειν.

ΧΟ. Διὸς πλαγὰν ἔχουσ' ἀνειπεῖν·

στρ. α'.

πάρεστι τοῦτ' ἐξιχνεύσαι·

380

ἔπραξεν ὡς ἔκρανεν. οὐκ ἔφα τις

θεοὺς βροτῶν ἀξιοῦσθαι μέλειν

ᾧσοις ἀθίκτων χάρις

πατοῖθ' ὃ δ' οὐκ εὖσεβής.

πέφανται δ' ἐγγονοῦ·

385

379. ἔχουσιν (corr. to ἔχουσ') εἰπεῖν.

381. ὡς ἔπραξεν ὡς.

385—6. ἐγγόνου ἀτολήτων.

Sidgwick prefers 'before the time', which is an equally possible sense of the word and gives, divested of metaphor, the real meaning. But *ὑπὲρ ἀστρον*, a phrase not very happy at best, seems scarcely intelligible without the assisting contrast of *πρὸ καιροῦ* in the local and metaphorical sense.

378. *ἡλίθιον* predicate, to be taken with the verb.

379. *It is a stroke of ZEUS which they are able to proclaim. This thought it is permissible to follow out.* The elders themselves *οὐκ ἔχουσι* (*are not able*) to join in the celebration, inasmuch as they are more than doubtful of the fact to be celebrated. But there is an opportunity (*πάρεστι*), they say, to moralize upon the suggested truth, that *Zeus* (note the emphasis) does watch and does punish: and this accordingly they do, carefully avoiding all explicit reference to the supposed capture of Troy. This dubious and somewhat feeble distinction is prompted by their peculiar and embarrassing situation. They cannot accept Clytaemnestra's proof, yet will not commit themselves to a denial. Naturally they soon quit the subject altogether.—*ἀνειπεῖν*: see *ἀναγορεύω*, a word proper to proclamation of a victory in the games or the like.

380. On the metre see Appendix II.

381. *He* (i.e. Zeus) *accomplishes as he determines*.—Note the convenient ambiguity of the aorist, which, according as it

is taken as *past definite* or as *gnomic*, does or does not imply a specific reference to the present case. In English the ambiguity can scarcely be preserved.—*ἔπραξαν* (Hermann) must on no account be accepted, and would never have been suggested but for the misinterpretation of *v.* 379 and of the foregoing scene. The plural would naturally be referred to the subject of *ἔχουσι*, and so referred would be meaningless. The omission of *ὡς* (Hermann) is not strictly necessary; the archaic scansion *ἐξιχνεύσ'*, *ὡς* (*that*) is not inadmissible in lyrics. But the omission seems better, and the insertion may well have arisen from the want of punctuation after *ἔχουσαι*.

381. *οὐκ ἔφα τις*. By *τις* we should understand, as usual, *quidam*; the tone of the remark suggests a personal reference. It is probable that the poet has some passage of literature in view; but upon the dramatic bearing of the remark light is thrown afterwards by *v.* 1578, where it appears that Aegisthus had entertained and presumably expressed an unfavourable opinion of Providence.

383. *ἀθίκτων χάρις* the charm or spell of the inviolable, i.e. the restraining 'power' which religion ought to exercise. For *χάρις*, in this sense of influence (upon the mind), cf. Eur. *Med.* 439 *βέβακε δ' ὀρκων χάρις* and note there.

385. *It is manifested, how pregnant is the insolence of a too-defiant pride, when the fulness of the house overpasseth the*

σα τόλμη τῶν Ἄρη
 πνεόντων μεῖζον ἢ δικαίως,
 φλεόντων δωμάτων ὑπέρφεν
 ὑπὲρ τὸ βέλτιστον. ἔστω δ' ἀπή-
 μαντον ὥστ' ἀπαρκεῖν
 εὖ πραπίδων λαχόντα.

390

blessed mean. πέφανται ἐγγονοῦσα literally 'is proved to have been pregnant', or 'to have been carrying offspring', by giving birth to it. When the consequence of sin comes, men see to what it was leading. The metaphor and its application are familiar in Aeschylus, Pindar, and other poets, and were evidently consecrated by tradition. It is fully worked out in *vv.* 749—773 of the play, which are the best possible commentary upon the present passage, παλαίφατος γέρον λόγος... μέγαν τελεσθέντα φωτὸς ὄλβον τεκνοῦσθαι... ἐκ δ' αἰγαθᾶς τύχας γένει βλαστάνειν ἀκρέεστον οἰζύν κτλ.; see notes there. Here the familiar train of thought is merely touched by a passing allusion. —As to the division of the words here I follow in part Hartung (ἐκτίνουσα τόλμα τῶν), but I see no reason for changing a letter of the MS. In ἐκτίνουσα the use of this verb without object might with reason be disputed: moreover it is too common to have been easily mistaken. ἐγγονοῦσα, which the MS. offers, is clear both in form and meaning. The verb is formed like ἐνεργεῖν, and means 'to be ἐγγονος': ἐγγονος is capable of two senses, either 'in-bearing, containing offspring' (a synonym of ἐντοκος), or 'in-born, being contained as offspring'. The second sense occurs in Aristotle (see *Lex. s.v.*); from the first obviously is derived ἐγγονοῦσα. The formation is so transparent that, whether it was familiar or not, any one must have been at liberty to coin it.—τόλμη. More usual in lyrics would be τόλμα, but it is impossible now to determine how much regularity the poets observed in these matters, and we must take what we find. There may

have been good literary reason for the Ionic form here.—πέφανται δ' ἐκγόνοις ἀτολήτως Bothe and others; but the reference to descendants is irrelevant.

389—391: *which shall be, so much as will permit a man of sense to meet his needs without distress.* The subject of ἔστω ('let it be, let us put it at this') is τὸ βέλτιστον 'the standard' of wealth, which this sentence defines by the limiting clause ὥστε κτλ.: literally *and let this be, 'so that a man may'* etc.—ἀπήμαντον: The true point of this word is explained (for the first time so far as I know) by Wecklein. It is commonly rendered 'harmless' and construed with ἔστω, the subject being supposed to be 'wealth', but the context will not supply the subject 'wealth', and it is very doubtful whether ἀπήμαντος could bear the active sense. *Suppl.* 584 ἀπημάντω σθένει is cited, but does not prove it. Wecklein himself takes ἀπήμαντον as transitive here, reading λαχόντι (Auratus) and translating 'let there be so much wealth as to suffice a man of sense without causing him distress'; but the change is mistaken not only as requiring us to force ἀπήμαντος, but as ignoring the ἀπο- in ἀπαρκεῖν.—ἀπαρκεῖν literally 'to suffice from it': for the preposition cf. ἀποξῆν (δσον ἀποξῆν enough to live upon Thuc. 1. 2), ἀφορμή a fund or capital, etc. For the personal use of ἀρκῶ 'I am sufficient (to myself), content' there appears to be no other example. Even *P. V.* 648 τοσοῦτον ἀρκῶ σοι σαφηνίσαι μόνον 'I can only inform you as far as this' (cited by S.) is materially different. But it is such a happy and natural abuse of language as justifies itself.—πραπίδων: cf. the

οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν ἑπαλξίς
 πλούτου πρὸς κόρον ἀνδρὶ
 λακτίσαντι μεγάλα Δίκας
 βωμὸν εἰς ἀφάνειαν.
 βιᾶται δ' ἅ τάλαινα πειθῶ,
 προβουλόπαις ἄφερτος ἄτας.

395
 ἀντ. α'.

genitive with *ἔχειν πως*, as *ὡς εἶχε ποδῶν* 'with his best speed' (S.).

392—395. *For there is no defence for the man, who in the pride of wealth doth haughtily spurn the foundation of Right, whereby he may be hid.* In this sentence are one or two points which I would leave uncertain. *πλούτου* may be taken either as above or with *ἑπαλξίς* ('there is no protection in riches' etc. Sidgwick: 'What defence are riches' etc. Kennedy). I prefer the other only as facilitating somewhat the attachment to *ἑπαλξίς* of *εἰς ἀφάνειαν*.—*μεγάλα*, cf. *Theb.* 339 *ὄλοιθ' ὅς πόλει μεγάλ' ἐπέυχεται. μέγαν* Canter for metre. See Appendix II.—*βωμὸν*: the rendering 'altar' is rather too narrow. The *βωμός* is that on which anything stands, 'a base, step, pedestal', and the notion of fixity, solidity (cf. *βέβαιος*), is here more prominent than that of sanctity.—*εἰς ἀφάνειαν*: the chief difficulty. The explanations given are (1), as the majority, *λακτίσαντι εἰς ἀφάνειαν* 'spurning out of sight', or 'into destruction'. The sole objection to this is that of arbitrary taste, but I confess that I cannot accept it. Not only does the metaphor thus pass decidedly into the grotesque, but (and this perhaps is more like an argument) it becomes inconsistent with the very notion of a *βωμός*, which, as already observed, is that of *fixity*. The wicked may insolently spurn a *βωμός*, but could not, however willing, spurn it away. And moreover, the addition of *εἰς ἀφάνειαν* (with an emphasis, observe), so far from strengthening *λακτίσαντι*, sadly weakens it; the wicked, it would seem, might 'spurn' the *βωμός* without offence, if he did not spurn it as far as invisibility.

(2) as Hermann and others, *ἑπαλξίς εἰς ἀφάνειαν* 'protection against destruction'. But *ἀφανής*, a very common word, means not *destroyed*, but always *invisible, secret, concealed*, and '*εἰς* is the wrong preposition' (S.). (3) *ἑπαλξίς εἰς ἀφάνειαν* 'protection for concealment', whence the translation above. I suggest this as rendering correctly both *εἰς* (*for the purpose of*) and *ἀφάνεια*, and as suitable to the sequel *οὐκ ἐκρύφθη, πρέπει δέ κτλ., v. 398*. This connexion also explains why the words are separated from *ἑπαλξίς*. They are placed with emphasis at the end of the sentence, because they strike the keynote of the passage following.

396. *Yet irresistible is that obstinate persuasion*, the self-persuasion, that is, of the wicked, that his wealth will in some way protect him. *πειθῶ* means both persuasion to believe (*conviction*, as here, cf. Eur. *Hel.* 796 *τίς τοῦδε πειθῶ*;) and persuasion to do (*temptation*). The second sense may be taken here ('Temptation forces him on' S.), but the other makes a better connexion. The strength of temptation is not here the question. *τάλαινα* *obstinate*; the word often has this shade of meaning, cf. Eur. *Med.* 1057 *ἔασον αὐτούς, ὦ τάλαν, φεῖσαι τέκνων* (Medea appeals to her heart).

397. *προβουλόπαις ... ἄτας*: another difficult expression. The old interpretation was 'fore-counselling child of Infatuation'. To this it was objected (Hartung, Karsten) that the law of composition does not admit such a substantive in the supposed sense, an objection not answered by producing exceptional *adjectives* such as *ἀνόπαρις* (Ἰάρις), *ἀνοπατήρ* etc. The compound substantive *προβουλό-παις*

ἄκος δὲ παμμάταιον. οὐκ ἐκρύφθη,
πρέπει δέ, φῶς αἰνολαμπές, σίνος·

ought to mean 'a παῖς who is a πρόβουλος' or 'who belongs to the class πρόβουλοι', where πρόβουλος is not an adjective but a substantive. This type of compound is common, and the question is whether it is applicable here. Now it is well worth notice, that πρόβουλος *always* is a substantive and always, if the Lexicon may be trusted, confined to one sphere of association. It meant in Greek politics 'one who prepares measures for the sanction of another'. In this sense it occurs in Aeschylus himself (*Theb.* 997), and not seldom elsewhere. It is a word in short, deeply coloured with technical meaning (as is also προβουλεύω), and it describes not a quality but a *function*, and a *relative* function. A πρόβουλος is always πρόβουλος *to another or others*. These facts strongly suggest that in this compound παῖς also is a term of *function*, and means not *child* but *servant* or *hand-maiden* (a common meaning), and that we should translate by *servant of Infatuation who prepareth her decrees*, literally 'the counsellor-servant of Até'. Self-deception, to drop the metaphor, prepares the way for judicial blindness. Such metaphors from occupations and functions are in the style of the poet; see his προχαλκεύει Ἀτὴ φασγανουργός, his πρόσπολος Φόνου, his προβατογνώμων, and the like.—To write προβούλου παῖς...ἄτας (Hartung) is to cut not solve the problem. No copyist would invent προβουλόπαις, and besides, the use of πρόβουλος would then force us to ask 'To whom does Até serve as πρόβουλος?'—πρόβουλος παῖς (Karsten) avoids this question, but is also arbitrary.—ἄφερος 'tyrannous', lit. 'insupportable'.

398—408. *Remedy is all in vain.... Like base metal at the rub and touch he shows the black grain under justification ...and sets upon his people a fatal mark of his touch. Deaf to supplication, the gods condemn for a wicked man him who*

is conversant with such. The sonorous obscurity of this sentence almost defies analysis. The general meaning is that, as wealth will not serve, so neither will power, such as the power of a mighty state, to avert the punishment of the wicked. He will only ruin those who adopt his guilt.—In detail, the first point to observe is that ἐπελ...δρυν is a parenthesis, and that the metaphor of the rubbed metal is pursued after it as before it. The almost unique word πρόστριμμα, meaning 'that which is rubbed on to' a thing, is plainly adopted, probably invented, by the poet, as a correlative to τρίβος.—It is additionally recommended by the use of προστριβειν to inflict a punishment (Aesch. *P. V.* 345 Paley).—δικαιωθῆς *when justified*, i.e. 'brought to justice' or 'to punishment'. This (see L. and Sc.) is the meaning which δικαιώω has in all the few passages where it is used with a personal object. It suits very well with the words τρίβω...πέλει. In contact with justice wickedness is seen for what it is. But this meaning of δικαιωθῆς does not square exactly with πόλει πρόστριμμα...θῆς, where that with which the malefactor has 'contact' is no longer justice but the πόλις which becomes a party to his cause. The fact seems to be that in these last words the poet has before his mind a possible sense, quite different, of δικαιωσθαι, analogous to that of δικαιώσις, e.g. in Lysias p. 115 ὅτι μὲν οὖν ἀφείλην ὑπὸ τῶν ταμιῶν ἐπίστασθε. προσήκειν δὲ ἡγούμενος καὶ διὰ ταύτην τὴν ἀπώδειξιν ἀπηλλάχθαι τοῦ ἐγκλήματος, ἔτι πλείονας καὶ νόμους καὶ ἄλλας δικαιώσεις παρασχέσθαι. Here and elsewhere δικαιώσις clearly means 'justification' in the modern sense, and in later Greek the verb δικαιώω takes regularly the corresponding sense of 'justify'. The dawn of a future change in language is often first seen in poetry, which is

κακοῦ δὲ χαλκοῦ τρόπον
 τρίβῳ καὶ προσβολαῖς
 μελαμπαγῆς πέλει
 δικαιωθείς (ἐπεὶ
 διώκει παῖς πτανὸν ὄρνιν)
 πόλει πρόστριμμ' ἄφερτον θείς.
 λιτᾶν δ' ἀκούει μὲν οὔτις θεῶν,
 τὸν δ' ἐπίστροφον τῶνδε
 φῶτ' ἄδικον καθαιρεῖ.
 οἶος καὶ Πάρις ἐλθὼν
 ἐς δόμον τὸν Ἀτρειδᾶν
 ἥσυχυε ξενίαν τράπε-
 ζαν κλοπαῖσι γυναικός.
 λιποῦσα δ' ἀστοῖσιν ἀσπίστορας
 κλόνους λογχίμους τε καὶ ναυβάτας ὅπλισμούς,
 ἄγουσά τ' ἀντίφερνον Ἰλῖω φθορὰν
 βέβακε ῥίμφα διὰ πυλᾶν,

401. προσβολαῖς.

410. τῶν.

always experimenting upon the possibilities of words.—The rendering 'tested', which appears in many commentaries, is not supported, so far as I can discover, by any example or even analogy.—πόλει, *i.e.* πολῖταις, very frequent in Aeschylus, *Theb.* 57, 1021 etc.—ἄφερτον θείς. This metre though not impossible (see Appendix II.) is harsh. Perhaps the order should be changed πόλει πρόστριμμα θείς ἄφερτον. The *Cod. Farn.* has as usual a conjecture, ἄφερτον ἐνθείς, and a bad one, for ἐν- is not correct: ἀνθείς (from ἀνατιθέναι) *to put upon* is possible, as in ἐλεγχείην ἀναθήσει (*Il.* 22. 100), ἀνατιθέναι αἰτίαν (or κῶδος) τινί etc. But the simple verb *θείς* is best of all and most Aeschylean; the correct preposition is already given by πρόσ-τριμμα and no compound would be quite satisfactory except προσθείς. I therefore leave the text, under reserve.—ἐπεὶ...ὄρνιν, *for his pursuit is that of the boy after the flying bird*; the hope of the malefactor and his friends that they may escape punishment is futile.—τῶνδε better taken not as neuter but as

masculine, as in the Homeric phrase ἐπίστροφος ἦν ἀνθρώπων (*Od.* 1. 177) from which this appears to be imitated. The plural includes the whole company of the wicked with the original malefactor.—ἄδικον predicate with καθαιρεῖ, which has its judicial Attic sense, to 'condemn' or 'sentence' (not 'to destroy' though this is indirectly implied), as in ἡ καθαιρούσα ψῆφος (*Lysias*) etc. See L. and Sc. s. v.—On the metrical points see Appendix II.

413. ἀσπίστορας κλόνους λογχίμους *τε the din of shield and spear, καὶ ναυβάτας ὀπλισμούς and the arming of fleets.* *τε* couples the adjectives ἀσπίστορας and λογχίμους, *καί* couples ναυβάτας ὀπλισμούς to the whole phrase preceding. The order of the words and conjunctions is the proper order, and would scarcely require notice but for the attempts to change it under the pressure of metrical theory. See Appendix II.

415—422. See Appendix K.

416. βέβακε. The vowel is lengthened by the following ῥ.

ἄτλητα τλᾶσα· πολὺ δ' ἀνέστανον
 τόδ' ἐννέποντες δόμων προφῆται·
 “ὠὸ ὠὸ δῶμα δῶμα καὶ πρόμοι,
 ὠὸ λέχος καὶ στίβοι φιλάνορες. 420
 πάρεστι σιγᾶς ἄτιμος ἀλοίδορος
 ἄδιστος ἀφήμενων ἰδεῖν.
 πόθω δ' ὑπερποντίας
 φάσμα δόξει δόμων ἀνάσσειν.
 εἰμόρφων δὲ κολοσσῶν 425
 ἔχθεται χάρις ἀνδρί,
 ὁμμάτων δ' ἐν ἀχηνίαις
 ἔρρει πᾶσ' Ἀφροδίτη.
 ὀνειρόφαντοι δὲ πειθήμονες 430
 ἀντ. β'.

419. ὠὸ and δῶμα not repeated.

429. πειθήμονες.

417. πολὺ δ' ἀνέστανον: for metre see Appendix II.

423. πόθω...ἀνάσσειν: so *pinning for her that is far beyond sea, the lord of the house may pass for a mere phantom*: 'den Herrscher des Hauses wird man nicht für einen machtvollen Herrscher, sondern für ein Schattenbild halten' (Wecklein). The tone, as in the preceding sentence, is still mocking.—I am sorry to abandon for this interpretation the old and familiar one 'in his longing for the lost wife a phantom of her will seem to rule his home'. But this, however poetical, is not in the Greek. It is impossible that the subject of δόξει should be other than ὁ ποθῶν: the suggestion to translate by *he will think that a phantom of her rules* (Housman) shows a consciousness of this; but itself makes an impossible separation of φάσμα from δόξει. Moreover the old interpretation does not satisfy the force and position of δόμων ἀνάσσειν. It will no doubt seem to many that Dr Wecklein's rendering destroys what they most admire in the passage. This may be, but I am compelled to say for myself that I think it indisputably right.

427. ὁμμάτων ἐν ἀχηνίαις *in the want*

of the eyes. The question is raised whether the 'eyes' are those of the husband, or of the lost wife, or of the blankly-gazing statues, a question which cannot and must not be answered. The eyes of the husband seek, but no longer find, the eyes that were wont to answer, and, for lack of this response, love is for him no more. It is the advantage of the language here that it is ambiguous between 'absence of eyes' and 'hunger of eyes'.

429. πειθήμονες...δόξαι, *persuading visions* or 'convincing', i.e. visions which compel belief in their reality, cf. Propertius 4. 11. 81 (a departed wife is addressing her husband) 'sat tibi sint noctes, quas de me, Paule, fatiges | *somniaque in faciem credita saepe meam*; | atque ubi secreto nostra ad simulacra loqueris | ut responsurae singula verba iace, Meleager *Anth. Gr.* 5. 166 ἄρα μένει στοργῆς ἐμὰ λείψανα καὶ τὸ φίλημα | μνημόσυνον ψυχρῇ θάλπει' ἐν εἰκασίᾳ; | ἄρ' ἄρ' ἔχει σύγκοιτα τὰ δάκρυα, κάμῶν δυνειρον | ψυχ' ἀπ' αὐτὴν στέρνοισι ἀμφιβαλοῦσα φιλεῖ; (Housman *Journal of Philology*, 16. 269). Both passages, that of Propertius especially, seem to have been suggested by Aeschylus (see v. 425 above)

πάρεισι δόξαι φέρουσαι χάριν ματαίαν.
μάταν γὰρ εὐτ' ἂν ἐσθλά τις δοκῶν ὀρᾶν†,
παραλλάξασα διὰ χερῶν
βέβακεν ὄψις οὐ μεθύστερον
πτεροῖς ὀπαδοῖς ὕπνου κελεύθοις."

and strengthen, as well as illustrate, the conjecture. But the strongest commendation, though not perhaps truly an argument, is its poetic superiority.—*πενθήμονες* MS. 'mournful'. The alternative interpretations of this, (1) *sad-looking*, (2) *causing sadness*, are both unsatisfactory. (1) is pointless, and (2) is contrary to fact and the context. It cannot be said of the visions that *πενθήμονες* *πάρεισι*: on the contrary *φέρουσι* *χάριν*, though *ματαίαν*. Mr Housman aptly quotes another imitation, Eur. *Alc.* 348 foll. (Admetus to his dying wife) *ἐν δ' ὀνείρασιν φοιτῶσα μ' εὐφραίνουσι ἄν' ἥδ' ὃν γὰρ φίλους κἄν νυκτὶ λεύσσειν ὄντιν' ἂν παρ' ἡ χρόνον*.—There is perhaps a third possible interpretation, *visions of mourning*, i.e. visions which arise before the disturbed mind of the mourner. We might even cite Propertius for this also: the ghost of Cynthia appears to her lover 'cum mihi somnus ab exsequiis penderet' (4. 7. 5). This somewhat artificial explanation, which Mr Housman does not notice, I should take, if *πενθήμονες* be retained; and it may very likely be an old reading, as old or nearly as old as the other. But Mr Housman's is to me *πειθήμων*, and I cannot refrain from placing it in the text.

431. Here again I agree with Mr Housman upon all points. The attempts to make grammar by minute alteration (e.g. *ὀρᾶ*) are useless. The intrusion of mere generality here is intolerable, and the words *ἐσθλά τις* must be wrong. It is 'absurd to say that whenever *any one* seems to see *good things* they pass away through his hands'. Something is required leading up to *διὰ χερῶν*. Mr Housman, comparing Milton 'But lo as to

embrace me she inclined, I waked' (and add Propertius again (4. 7. 96) '*inter complexus excidit umbra meos*'), offers *μάταν γὰρ εὐτ' ἂν ἐς θιγὰς δοκᾶν ὀρᾶ* 'for when in vain he looks to touch the phantom', where for *δοκαί* (i.e. *δόξαι*) see Hermann *ad loc.* and for *ὀρᾶν* ἐς Eur. *frag.* 162 *ἀνδρὸς δ' ὀρῶντος ἐς Κύπριν νεανίου ἀφύλακτος ἡ τήρησις*. In the supposed *θιγὴ touch* there is nothing to stumble at; it is absolutely warranted by the existence of *θιγῆν*, and can be found, as I have long thought, in more easily recognisable shape than here. Under *προσθήκη* in L. and Sc. will be found the metrical proverb *πᾶσιν εἰσι πράγμασι προσθήκαι δύο*, where *προσθήκαι* (*additions*) has no meaning and should be replaced by *προσθιγαί*: 'everything has two handles', or 'ways of taking hold of it'. From the mere fact that the passage is corrupt it is likely to have contained some word not common. In short, I am for myself completely satisfied with Mr Housman's reading, though I do not venture to insert it as a clear restoration. To account for the MS. text we have merely to suppose the common error T for Γ; thus *εσθιτας*, and from this by the commonest sort of conjecture *ἐσθλά τις*.

434: *with wings that follow the passing of sleep*. The dative *κελεύθοις*, depending on *ὀπαδοῖς* (cf. *ἐπομαι*), though correct, produces a curious collision of dative cases, but there is no certain proof of error.—Of proposed changes *ὀπαδὸς* (*Auratus*) is the simplest change and technically most probable: the adjectival *ὀπαδὸς* might well in Aeschylus take *πτεροῖς* as an instrumental dative.—*πτεροῖς ὀπαδοῦσ(α)* Dobree.—*κελεύθοις*, commonly *ὀδοῖς*, cf. v. 131.

τὰ μὲν κατ' οἴκους ἐφ' ἐστίας ἄχῃ,
 τὰ δ' ἔστι, καὶ τῶνδ' ὑπερβατώτερα.
 τὸ πᾶν δ' ἄφ' Ἑλλάδος αἶας συνορμένους
 πένθεια τλησικάρδιος
 δόμων ἐκάστου πρέπει.

435

436. τὰδ' ἔστι.

435. ἐφ' ἐστίας. ἐφεστίους (Voss). This merely expresses the same sense in a more ordinary way. But a poet is at liberty to prefer an unusual way, and we may even think that the cumulation of ἐφ' ἐστίας (the more intimate expression) upon κατ' οἴκους has a poetical effect.

436. τὰ δ' (Halm). I think this division is right, but further that ἔστι should be accented as emphatic. The word ἔστι without emphasis is very rarely admitted by Aeschylus, especially in lyrics, but almost always left to be supplied. The emphatic ἔστι is used here to mark the true present time of *v.* 436, as opposed to the 'historic' time of *v.* 435. The connexion of thought is this: 'Such were *at home* (κατ' οἴκους) the sufferings of those (ἐφ' ἐστίας) most nearly concerned (the Atridae, particularly Menelaus), and other sufferings they have *now*, even greater (the miseries of war being added to the first loss); and throughout Hellas, since they (the princes and their army) went away, there is sorrow'. Both *v.* 436 and *v.* 437 are separately antithetic in different ways to *v.* 435.—If τὰδ' ἔστι be written, so that the antithesis is merely between τὰ μὲν and τὸ πᾶν δέ, there is an ill-marked transition of time from the past to the present.—τῶνδ' ὑπερβατώτερα *more surpassing than these*, an unusual (active) sense of ὑπέρβατος, and a redundant, or rather inaccurate, use of the comparative formation, where 'surpassing these' would be logical. Some would reject the word: the active sense is exceptional only, not incorrect; and the comparative seems well within the range of poetry seeking a strong expression.

437. τὸ πᾶν δὲ *generally, universally, i.e.* 'in reference to the commons', or 'the general' in Shakespeare's phrase, as opposed to τὰ ἐφ' ἐστίας, the domestic concerns of the princes. The phrase as an adverb qualifying the whole statement does not seem to occur elsewhere, but accords with the analogy of τὸ πολὺ, τὸ πλείστον, etc.—συνορμένοις 'since they (the princes and their army) went away together'. For this 'dative absolute', as it may almost be called, see on *Theb.* 217 and hereafter on *v.* 1277.—Ἑλλάδος. Ἕλλανος Bamberger for metre. See Appendix II.

439—440. *In the dwelling of every one heart-aching grief is seen* is the received translation, but impossible. πένθεια, as from an adjective πενθής, would be a word of monstrous and unexampled formation. Adjectives in -ης are formed from words such as πένθος, πενθεῖν, only as compounds, *e.g.* δυσπενθής. So τέλος, τελεῖν, ἐντελής, but not τέλεια *perfection*. The epithet τλησικάρδιος 'suffering in heart' is proper only to the mourner, and could scarcely be applied to his grief. A bolder case (ἄσωνής σωτήρ for 'one who saves harmless') occurs in *Theb.* 811 but in a passage of little authority: see notes there. And thirdly in the genitive δόμων looseness of construction is carried beyond reasonable limits. The combination of these difficulties, singly formidable, is overwhelming.—Translate: *there is and must be heart-ache for the women of every house*, literally, 'the kinswoman of each man's house is heavy at heart of course'. On πένθεια see Appendix L.—πρέπει *is naturally*. This is the force here rather than 'is conspicuously'. The use of the

πολλὰ γοῦν θυγάνει πρὸς ἡπαρ·
οὓς μὲν γὰρ παρέπεμψεν
οἶδεν, ἀντὶ δὲ φωτῶν
τεύχη καὶ σποδὸς εἰς ἐκά-
στου δόμους ἀφικνεῖται.
ὁ χρυσαμοιβὸς δ' Ἄρης σωμαμάτων
καὶ ταλαντοῦχος ἐν μάχῃ δορὸς
πυρωθὲν ἐξ Ἰλίου
φίλοισι πέμπει βαρὺ
ψῆγμα δυσδάκρυτον ἀν-
τήνορος σποδοῦ γεμί-
ζων λέβητας εὐθέτου.

440

στρ. γ'. 445

450

441. γὰρ ἔπεμψεν.

450. γεμίξων (?).

verb is closely akin to its common im-
personal use (πρέπει *it is fit*), and may be
approximately illustrated by *Pers.* 242
πότερα γὰρ τοξουλκὸς αἰχμὴ διὰ χειρῶν
αὐτοῖς πρέπει; 'Is the bow the weapon
natural to their hands?' and *Soph. O. T.* 9
πρέπων πρὸ τῶνδε φωνεῖν, 'marked as
their natural spokesman'. It is this πρέ-
πει to which γοῦν in *v.* 440 refers: γοῦν
introduces some justification of what pre-
cedes, here of the notion 'naturally' or
'of course' conveyed in πρέπει, 'she is
sad *naturally*, for she has much to grieve
her'.

440. θυγάνει (αὐτῆς) πρὸς ἡπαρ
wounds her to the heart. The interpre-
tation of πένθεια offered above has the
incidental advantage of removing the
difficulty from this line, as it supplies the
personal pronoun, without which θυγά-
νει πρὸς ἡπαρ would be a doubtful phrase,
so doubtful as to have prompted cor-
rections, *κιγχάνει* (Meineke), *χρίμπεται*
(Wecklein) etc.

441. παρέπεμψεν (Bothe) *those whom
she sped forth*, sent away with cheer and
encouragement. The preposition, bearing
the same shade of meaning as in παρα-
μυθεῖσθαι, παρακελεύειν, adds to the irony
of the contrast. The loss of a syllable is
accounted for by the similarity of sylla-
bles γαρπαρ.—*τις ἔπεμψεν* Porson (and

many texts); but this has no graphic
probability. It has been recommended
only by the necessity of supplying a sub-
ject to ἔπεμψεν, which is already supplied
under the foregoing interpretation.—See
further Appendix II.

442. "Notice the beautiful effect in
this pathetic line of the implied antithesis
to οἶδεν; instead of the familiar and loved
face comes back the unknown urn and
ashes" (Sidgwick).

445. "The 'dust in the urn' suggests
a bold figure to the poet. 'War is a
gold-merchant dealing in bodies; he has
his balance (holding the scales of fight, a
Homeric idea from *Il.* 8. 69, where Zeus
weighs fates); he sends back ψῆγμα
dust, πυρωθὲν and βαρὺ *burnt and heavy*
(*grievous*), like gold-dust, but in another
sense; he fills the jar with ashes in place
of men'" (Sidgwick).

451. εὐθέτου literally 'convenient';
the old translation 'easily stowed' is not
far from the implied sense, but a little
more than the meaning of the word. The
general notion is 'convenience', as comes
out clearly in εὐθετεῖν *to be convenient*,
handy (εὐθετεῖ πᾶσι χρῆσασθαι Theophras-
tus), and specially the convenience which
comes of being in small compass. So in
Hesiod (*Theog.* 541) Prometheus, binding
the bones of an ox in fat to deceive Zeus,

στένουσι δ' εὖ λέγοντες ἄν-
δρα τὸν μὲν ὡς μάχης ἵδρις,
τὸν δ' ἐν φοναῖς καλῶς πεσόντ'—
ἄλλοτρίας διαὶ ἡναικός·
τάδε σίγά τις βαῦζει,
φθονερὸν δ' ὑπ' ἄλγος ἔρπει
προδίκουσιν Ἀτρεΐδαις.
οἱ δ' αὐτοῦ περὶ τεῖχος

455

455. διὰ.

first packs them together, *εὐθετίσας κατέ-
θηκε καλύψας ἀργέτι δημῶ*. So in Aesch.
frag. 238 shoes for running are termed
εὐθετοὶ ἀρβύλαι from their 'convenient'
lightness and other adaptation. (The
word appears, as a conjecture of one of
the later copyists, in *Theb.* 629, but see
note there.) Here it is an epithet bor-
rowed from the merchant's gold-dust,
whose *convenience* of small bulk, ready
exchange etc., is a chief part of its value.
To the ashes it is applicable only in bitter
irony, because, as compared with the living
man, they are so small in bulk and so
quickly disposed of. The ironical tone
is aided by the emphatic position of the
epithet: *ματαίαν* in *v.* 430 has a similar
emphasis, though less strong and different
in purpose.—*εὐθέτους* (*Auratus*) is a mis-
taken change. The 'convenience' of the
goldsmith's vessels (*i.e.* the urns of the
dead) is not to the point; still less that
they are 'well-ordered' (as the word is
sometimes rendered). We may add the
improbability that *εὐθέτους* should have
been altered to the case of a remoter
word.

455. *διαὶ* Hermann.

456. *τάδε*, *i.e.* the last words *ἄλλοτρί-
ας διαὶ ἡναικός*, not of course the praises
of the dead. I have followed Wecklein
in marking the natural pause.—*βαῦζει*
snarls; the word signifies the tones of the
dog.—*τις* *some one*; note that this differs
from *βαῦζουσι* and is more picturesque.
When the praises of the dead are sounded,

some one, an emissary for example of the
conspirators, will generally put in the
malicious suggestion—*σίγα* *in a whisper*.
In this and the like passages (see *L.*
and *Sc. s.v.*) the word retains the effect
of its origin and its connexion with *σιζω*
(stem *σιγ-*) *to hiss*.

457. *φθονερὸν . . . Ἀτρεΐδαις* *there
spreads an indignant grief against the
quarrel of the sons of Atreus*. *ὑπὸ . . . ἔρπει*
i.e. ὑφέρπει. This intransitive use is to
be distinguished from that in *v.* 282 *χαρά
μ' ὑφέρπει*. For *ἔρπει* *to grow* see on
Theb. 17.—*προδίκουσιν*: cf. *ἀντίδικος* in
v. 41. The *δίκη* is the great cause of the
Atridae against Troy. But the exact
sense of *πρόδικος* is hard to fix, from the
rarity of the word and of similar words.
It is here clearly invidious; a laudatory
or merely general epithet would spoil the
sentence. As *πρόμαχος* is *forward in
battle*, *πρόχειρος* *handy*, *πρόκωπος* *ready
with the sword*, and *πρόλεσχος* *too ready
with talk*, so *πρόδικος* may be *forward* or
too ready in suit, in short *litigious*, and
this would fit very well, the point being
that the princes are selfishly eager in
urging their private interest.—Etymolo-
gically *πρόδικος* may also mean *pleading
on behalf of* another, and sometimes did
(cf. *προδικέω* and *πρόμαχος* in the sense of
defender). But this would be contrary to
the purpose here; the cause of the Atri-
dae was certainly their own. The ren-
dering *iustitiae vindex* (Dindorf) is
scarcely consistent with the etymology.

θήκας Ἰλιάδος γὰρ
 εὖμορφοι κατέχουσιν' ἔχ-
 θρὰ δ' ἔχοντας ἔκρυσεν.
 βαρεῖα δ' ἀστῶν φάτις συγκότων'
 δημοκράτου δ' ἀρὰς τίνει χρέος.

ἀντ. γ'.

463. σὺν κότῳ.

460. *Others possess graves there by the town in Trojan earth, which hating them doth hide its fair possessors away.* The Greek feeling for the beauty of the body is here touched with a strange pathos. εὖμορφοι, though joined with κατέχουσιν, takes its force from its antithesis to ἔκρυσεν. The epithet could be applied, even in imagination, only of course to the dead buried, not burnt. Note also the irony in κατέχουσιν...ἔχοντας, words used naturally of conquerors who occupy land (Sidgwick).—ἐχθρὰ δ' ἔχοντας (Orelli) gives a more obvious but much less delicate point.

463. βαρεῖα dangerous. —συγκότων when united in anger, possessed by a common feeling of indignation. This microscopic change from the MS. (συνκοτων for συνκοτωι) is justifiable if not imperative. The compound σύγκοτος is similar to συμπαθής united in feeling, σύναιμος united in blood, σύνορκος bound by a joint oath, and exactly analogous to σύμφρων one in mind, of which a solitary specimen is preserved in v. 112. It answers to ἀλλόκοτος (properly differing in humour) as συμφρονεῖν answers to ἀλλοφρονεῖν. For the union with a preposition we have ὑπέρκοτος and ἐπικότος. With συγκότων we have an exact expression of the point, which, as the next line shows, is that when there is among the people a common indignation (not indignation simply), a conspiracy, or something like it, grows up naturally out of daily intercourse and conversation (φάτις).—With σὺν κότῳ we must translate 'popular rumour is dangerous, where there is anger'. But this is a lame and inadequate expression of what is meant.

464: it performs the obligation of a sworn conspiracy: the subject is φάτις, the talk by which malcontents are drawn together.—δημοκράτου ἀρὰς a popular conjuration, a curse by which the people bind themselves together. I believe that the MS. reading is right and much better than any of the proposed substitutes. The metaphor κράσις mixture, applied to a league, covenant, or bond, is foreign to modern language but consecrated and characteristic in Greek; and it is specially applicable to a conjuration or religious bond. It was in fact more than a metaphor; it was an actual symbol; see the ritual of Atlantis as described in Plato (*Critias* p. 119). The ten kings annually renewed their compact with each other and with the law by first shedding the blood of a bull over a pillar, on which were written, together with the laws, 'an oath invoking great curses on whoever should break them (ὄρκος μεγάλας ἀρὰς ἐπενχόμενος τοῖς ἀπειθοῦσι)' and then mixing drops of the bull's blood, one for each of them, in a bowl from which they drank, swearing as they did so to deal truly with each other according to the law (κρατήρα κεράσαντες ὑπὲρ ἐκάστου θρόμβον ἐνέβαλλον αἵματος κτλ.). Hence in Herodotus (4. 152) the beginning of a commercial league is expressed by the dedication of a κρατήρ, and we are told that Θεραίοισι ἐς Σαμίους ἀπὸ τοῦτου τοῦ ἔργου πρῶτα φίλαι μεγάλαι συνεκρήθησαν. So in the *Seven against Thebes* (43) the forlorn hope of the besiegers bind themselves together till death by putting their hands while they swear into blood poured in a shield, which serves for the occasion the func-

μένει δ' ἀκούσαι τί μου
 μέριμνα νυκτηρεφές.
 τῶν πολυκτόνων γὰρ οὐκ
 ἀπόσκοποι θεοί. κελαι-
 ναὶ δ' Ἐρινύες χρόνῳ
 τυχηρὸν ὄντ' ἄνευ δίκας
 παλιντυχῇ τριβᾷ βίου

465

470

tion of a κρατήρ. See also the oaths of Priam and Agamemnon II. 3. 269 and notes there. From this ritual and symbolism came many familiar terms of compact, such as συγκεράσασθαι φίλαν, συγκεράσθαι τινι (to be united with another), συμμῆξαι συμβόλαια etc. Hence δημόκρατος ἀρά properly describes a 'conjururation' of the people, a covenant of rebellion solemnized with imprecation; and the point here is that the bond of a common indignation irregularly communicated from mouth to mouth may be as dangerous to authority as a sworn conspiracy. It will be observed that what the speakers fear is not the unimaginable thing which happens, but a popular outbreak against the representatives of the king. This glimpse of the political situation is important, indeed essential, to the development of the play.—τίνει χρέος 'it performs (literally 'pays') the obligation'. The φάτις is by a bold but natural personification said itself to do that which it causes to be done. For the extended use of χρέος cf. Soph. O. C. 250 πρὸς σ' ὅτι σοι φίλον ἐκ σέθεν ἄντομαι, ἣ τέκνον, ἣ λέχος, ἣ χρέος (obligatio Hermann) ἣ θεός. Observe that τίνει χρέος pursues the idea of the covenant and confirms the correctness of δημοκράτου.—δημοκράντου (Porson and most texts) gives the sense 'a curse decreed in assembly, an official curse'. The public curses upon offenders were an important part of early Greek legislation and were regularly registered with the laws (see a specimen from Teos in Roberts' *Greek Inscriptions* No. 142). δημόκρατος ἀρά is therefore a very good expression in

itself; but the sanction of a law has really nothing to do with the present matter.

465. μένει...νυκτηρεφές and *I await with boding a voice from the darkness of my thoughts* (literally 'and my anxiety waits to hear from me something, which darkness covers'), or in terms of prose 'I have a fixed presentiment of evil, though I cannot at present give it a definite shape'. A simpler form of expression would be μένω ἀκούσαι τι ἑμαντοῦ κτλ. 'I am waiting to be told by myself', from which the actual form differs in the personification of the questioning anxiety as something distinct from the person who feels it. For the antithetic emphasis on νυκτηρεφές see vv. 430, 451.—We must avoid the construction μέριμνά μου μένει ἀκούσαι τι νυκτηρεφές 'my anxiety still expects news' etc. This would be expressed in Aeschylean language by μένει μοι μέριμνα ἀκούσαι τι. Both the order of the words and the rhythm show that μου depends on ἀκούσαι in the first instance, though of course it also supplies a possessive to μέριμνα.

467. οὐκ ἀπόσκοποι 'they do not look away from them', i.e. they watch them with fixed eyes.—ἀσκοποι Cod. Farn., but see Appendix II.—τῶν πολυκτόνων: including those who, like the Atridae, reckon lives lightly in the pursuit of their ends.

471. παλιντυχῇ...βίου when by the rub of life his luck is reversed. Probably a metaphor from some game, like the 'rub' of the bowl which furnishes so many similar images to Shakespeare.—παλιντυχεῖ (Scaliger) does not alter the sense.

τιθεῖσ' ἀμαυρόν, ἐν δ' αἰ-
στοις τελέθοντος οὔτις ἀλκά·
τὸ δ' ὑπερκόπως κλύειν εὖ
βαρύ· βάλλεται γὰρ ὄσσοις
Διόθεν κεραυνός.
κρίνω δ' ἀφθονον ὄλβον·

475

474. ὑπερκόπως.

473. τελέθοντος 'when he is finally': cf. Eur. *Andr.* 780 ἀδὺ μὲν γὰρ αὐτίκα τοῦτο, ἐν δὲ χρόνῳ τελέθει ξηρόν, and see on Eur. *Med.* 1096.

474. ὑπερκόπως (Grotius) κλύειν εὖ *to be praised too much*.—The ὑπερκόπως of the MS. comes from an involuntary recollection of κότος in the preceding passage.

475. βαρύ *dangerous*, see *v.* 463.—ὄσσοις: a difficult word, as appears from the thirteen proposed corrections cited by Wecklein. The order and rhythm (see above on *v.* 465) show decisively that the dative depends upon βάλλεται. (We cannot therefore translate by 'thunderbolts from the eyes of Zeus', even if the case and the sense were appropriate.) With βάλλειν as with many verbs, simple cases sometimes express in poetry relations usually and in prose more accurately given by prepositions. Thus here βάλλεται is used like ἐπιβάλλεται, and the dative stands for the object of aim. Cf. Eur. *Phoen.* 1385 λόγῃην ἐνώμα στόματι, Eur. *Med.* 1285 χέρα βαλεῖν (*i.e.* προσβαλεῖν) τέκνους and note there. So πρέπειν (*Theb.* 117) takes the genitive proper to διαπρέπειν. On the other hand that 'the bolt of Zeus strikes the eyes' is neither true as a fact nor significant as a figure; nor if we say, as the wording of the passage scarcely permits, 'his eyes', is the expression any truer or better. To make sense, we want, as many have seen, some type of greatness or height, the *peaks* for instance, which 'the thunder strikes', as Horace says illustrating the same topic. Hence the suggestions Ὀσ-σῶ (Lobeck), ὀρεσσιν and ὀχθοῖς (Weil),

ὀρύκοις *peaks* (Ahrens), κρόσσαις *pinnacles* (Schneidewin) etc. But how do we know, or why must we take for granted, that ὄσσοις is not the word we want, that it does not mean *peaks*? Not because it means 'eyes': every language has many words of double and treble signification. Not by its form, for the very word ὄσσε, *eyes*, is evidence for the likelihood of a word ὄσσος (or ὄσσον) *point*, being derived, as all, I believe, agree, from the stem ὀκ-, of which the original notion was *sharpness* (cf. ὀκρίς a *point* and the cognate Latin *ac-ies ac-us*). The fact that *acies* means *point* or *edge*, does not prevent it from meaning also *eye*, *line of battle*, etc. In such cases of ambiguity, one word or meaning tends to oust the rest; and so it appears to have been in this case, if the present ὄσσοις is the only extant example of the meaning *points* or *peaks*. The meanings discarded from common use will nevertheless be preserved here and there, especially in proverbs, and the present phrase has the turn of a proverb. I would therefore retain ὄσσοις and translate, after Horace, *for the bolts of heaven fall upon the peaks*, 'feriuntque summos fulgura montes'.

477. κρίνω: properly 'separate' or 'sift out', limited in this archaic use to the separation of *what is good* from the mass, and so *prefer*, *choose*.—ἀφθονον *unenvied*: as the common meaning was 'unstinted, abundant', this exceptional use has special point. It puts in a single word the contrast between abundance and security.

478. μῆ δ' εἶην is rightly given by the MS. and should not be altered to μῆτ'

μη δ' εἶην πτολιπόρθης
μήτ' οὖν αὐτὸς ἀλούς ὑπ' ἄλ-
λων βίον κατίδοιμι.

480

πυρὸς δ' ὑπ' εὐαγγέλου
πόλιν διήκει θοὰ
βάξις· εἰ δ' ἐτητύμως,
τίς οἶδεν; ἦ τοι θεῖόν ἐστι, μὴ ψύθος.

484. ^{εἰ} ἦ. ἐστίν.

εἶην. The negative and the conjunctive have their separate force: δέ joins the whole period *μη...κατίδοιμι* to the clause preceding; μή is antithetic to *μήτ' οὖν* in *v.* 479. The connexion is this: 'I choose an unenvied prosperity; and (δέ) I would fain not (μή) be a conqueror, nor yet (μήτ' οὖν)' etc.

480. *μήτ'...κατίδοιμι*: 'nor may I ever know the life of a captive' (?) is conjectured to be the meaning; literally, 'nor may I, myself subdued by another, see (experience) the life (of a slave)'. But it must be confessed that the supposed sense of *κατιδεῖν βίον* lacks probability; nor is it satisfactory, that the period should close with two superfluous words, for *ἀλοῖην* simply would have expressed as much.—*βίον κατέδοιμι*, 'eat the bread (*βίος* sustenance, nourishment) of captivity', Valckenaer; but neither is this satisfactory.

481—493. Conversation in lyric recitative between the elders (Wecklein). See above on *vv.* 363—366.

481. *πυρὸς*: note the emphasis, 'now as for the fire' etc. We have no better evidence at present than a signal which may well be fraudulent, mistaken, or misinterpreted. Compare *v.* 486 and contrast *v.* 501.

483. *ἐτητύμως*: supply *ἀγγέλλοντος* *διήκει κτλ.*, *ἀγγέλλοντος* being supplied from *εὐ-αγγέλου*. The antithesis is between the adverbs *εὐ* and *ἐτητύμως*: the signal gives *good* news, but does it give *true*?—*ἐτήτυμος* (*ἐστίν ἡ βάξις* Auratus

and modern texts) seems not right. The ms. reading preserves the natural balance of the clauses and lays the emphasis on the right point, the competence of the witness.

484. *ἦ τοι θεῖόν ἐστι, μὴ ψύθος* (sc. *δν*) *it is indeed miraculous,—if not false*. An expression of contemptuous scepticism, and proverbial, as shown by *τοι*. The subject of the sentence in Greek, as in the English, is the general subject, *τὸ πρᾶγμα* 'the thing'. The doubt is directed against the trustworthiness, if not the existence, of the alleged system of beacons. The force of *θεῖος* is exactly illustrated by Herodotus (2. 66) on the behaviour of the Egyptian cats, which leap into a fire, *πυρκαϊῆς δὲ γενομένης θεῖα πρῆγματα καταλαμβάνει τοὺς αἰελοῦρους*. Note that *ἐστι* is slightly emphatic, and indispensable, as it commonly is in Aeschylus, when it is not omitted; see on *v.* 436.—The supplement of the verbal *δν* from *ἐστι* in the principal clause, is closely similar to that of the adjectival *δν* in such cases as Plato *Phaedr.* 240 D *ὁρῶντι δψιν πρεσβυτέραν καὶ οὐκ ἐν ὥρᾳ (οὖσαν)*. It is exceptional but seems not unnatural.—Of the many changes proposed, that of O. Müller, *ἦ τοι θεῖόν ἐστιν ἢ ψύθος*, is the nearest to the ms. and gives the same sense as the text. Almost all (e.g. *μὴ τι θεῖόν ἐστι δὴ ψύθος*; Weil) introduce a suggestion foreign to the purpose, that the signal is a 'deception of the gods' (*θεῖον ψύθος*). If the speaker suspects any one, it is the queen: see the next lines.

Τίς ὦδε παιδνὸς ἢ φρενῶν κεκομμένος,
 φλογὸς παραγγέλμασιν
 νέοις πυρωθέντα καρδίαν ἔπειτ'
 ἀλλαγῇ λόγου καμεῖν;
 Ἐν γυναικὸς αἰχμῇ πρέπει
 πρὸ τοῦ φανέντος χάριν ξυναινέσαι.

485

490

485—488. τίς ὦδε παιδνὸς κτλ. 'Who is so childish' etc. *i.e.* 'Is there any one so childish?' This second speaker takes up the hint of the preceding and gives it a stronger turn. The rashness of the queen, in acting upon such an uncertified report, is more than natural. Does she really believe? To which the next speaker answers that it is quite possible in a woman.

487. νέοις, *i.e.* νέοις ὄσιν 'when they are fresh', is emphatic and a predicate, closely connected with πυρωθέντα καρδίαν. 'Why not await confirmation?'—πυρωθέντα καρδίαν: for heat as a figure of sanguine rashness cf. Soph. *Ant.* 87 θερμὴν ἐπὶ ψυχροῖσι καρδίαν ἔχεις.—πυρωθέντα...ἔπειτα καμεῖν *i.e.* 'to let his feelings take fire at the first, when he must suffer if the news should change'. For the relation of sense between the participle and the verb, cf. Eur. *Med.* 1412 οὐς μήποτ' ἐγὼ φύσας ὄφελον πρὸς σοῦ φθιμένους ἐπιδέσθαι, *whom I would I had never begotten, to see them slain by thee.*—The clause is consecutive (ὥστε καμεῖν) following ὦδε.—ἐν...αἰχμῇ πρέπει 'with woman's impulsiveness it is natural' etc., literally 'in (a case of) a woman's impulse', *i.e.* where a woman's impulsiveness comes in. In Latin the corresponding use of *in* is very common; in Greek it is rare, but should not be condemned. Not unlike is Thuc. 3. 43 ἐν τῷ τοιῷδε ἀξιούντι 'where such an opinion prevails' and still nearer is Antiphon 5. 59 σὺ δέ με ἐν ἀφανεί λόγῳ (*when you have no proof*) ζητεῖς ἀπολέσαι.—To omit ἐν (Scaliger and modern texts) gives a common construction but is surely for that very reason unjustifiable.

489. αἰχμῇ *impulse* or *natural temper*, regularly formed from the stem of ἀΐσσω. For the sense compare θυμός *spirit* with θύω *to rush*. Other words of like formation and meaning are ῥύμη, ῥώμη. The word occurs also in *P. V.* 418 Ζεὺς ὑπερήφανον ἐνδείκνυσιν αἰχμῇ, and *Cho.* 628 γυναικείαν ἀπολμον αἰχμῇ (Blomfield, Paley, and see *L. and Sc. s. v.*). Here the primitive notion of *impulse* is more prominent; the same variation occurs in ὀργή, meaning sometimes *anger* sometimes merely *mood* (compare the English *humour*).—Whether this αἰχμῇ is or is not identical in etymology with αἰχμή in other senses is doubtful.

490. χάριν ξυναινέσαι *to give indulgent assent*, an assent which is not merited but conceded from the inclination of the hearer. The acc. χάριν is related to ξυναινέσαι as an adverbial or 'quasi-cognate' accusative, and expresses that the 'assent' is a 'favour' or act of partiality. 'Acquiesce in what is pleasing to her' (Paley) gives the sense but not exactly the meaning of χάρις.—πρὸ τοῦ φανέντος *before proof*, where τὸ φανέν 'the thing being proved' stands for 'the proving of the thing'. This use of the participle, though quite logical, is rare, having been expelled by the article with the infinitive (πρὸ τοῦ φανῆναι). Very similar are the examples in Thucydides ἐν τῷ μὴ μελετῶντι ἀξυνετώτεροι ἐσονται 'from not practising they will have less knowledge' (1. 142), ἐν τῷ τοιῷδε ἀξιούντι 'where such an opinion prevails' (3. 43) etc.—Others translate by 'instead of what is evident', but the context shows clearly that *πρό* here is temporal.

Πιθανὸς ἄγαν ὁ θῆλυς ὄρος ἐπινέμεται
ταχύπορος· ἀλλὰ ταχύμορον
γυναικογήρυτον ὄλλυται κλέος.

Τάχ' εἰσόμεσθα λαμπάδων φαεσφόρων
φρυκτωριῶν τε καὶ πυρὸς παραλλαγάς,
εἴτ' οὖν ἀληθεῖς εἴτ' ὄνειράτων δίκην
τερπνὸν τόδ' ἐλθὼν φῶς ἐφήλωσεν φρένας·
κήρυκ' ἀπ' ἀκτῆς τόνδ' ὀρώ κατάσκιον

495

491. *Woman is too open to conviction, a boundary soon passed by the encroacher, but quickly dies the report which women cry.* ἐπινέμεται, lit. 'is occupied-over, is encroached upon', an irregular ancient passive: cf. ἐπικηρυχθεῖς 'having a price set upon him' in *Theb.* 621, and other examples there cited. The application of ἐπινέμεσθαι to flocks which feed (νέμονται) on a neighbour's land illustrates the use here (Donaldson, Paley); but flocks have nothing to do with the present metaphor, which is taken directly from νέμειν or νέμεσθαι *to occupy land*.—ὁ θῆλυς ὄρος i.e. τὸ θῆλυ regarded as a ὄρος.—γυναικογήρυτον. γηρύω, regularly used of sounds sharp and shrill, here suggests the female tone: it is almost 'shriek'. So in Eur. *Hipp.* 213 (the nurse to Phaedra) οὐ μὴ παρ' ὀχλῷ τάδε γηρύσει;

494. The herald is seen approaching.

494—5. λαμπάδων . . . φρυκτωριῶν . . . πυρὸς. The accumulation of synonyms has a certain contemptuous effect. 'We shall not depend on that sort of intelligence any more'.

496. εἴτ' οὖν 'whether, as we will suppose'.

498. κατάσκιον κλάδοις ἐλαίας 'with shade of olive-branch' i.e. with small branches of olive bound as a wreath upon his head. Cf. Eur. *Hipp.* 130 λεπτὰ φάρη ξανθὰν κεφαλὰν σκιάζειν, and Simon. 150 σκιάζειν ἔθειραν of a chaplet. The words here would be satisfied if the olive-branches were carried over the head, but a wreath is probably meant. The use of σκιάζειν for what is worn on the head is

natural among a people who went usually bare. It will be observed that the speaker does not infer from the olive the nature of the news (as the priest in *Soph. O.* 7. 82 infers the success of Creon's mission to the oracle from his wreath of bay). What is inferred is that he comes ἀπ' ἀκτῆς. The herald would be wreathed, as the ship itself was wreathed, in sign of gratitude to the gods for the safe conclusion of a voyage. See Propertius (3. 24. 15) *ecce coronatae portum tetigere carinae, traiectae Syrtes, ancora iacta mihi est*. It is noticeable that a closely similar description (κλάδοις νεοδρόποις κατάσκιον θμυλον) is given of the newly arrived refugees in the *Suppliants* (358), the scene of which is laid on the coast of Argolis. In both passages the reference is probably to some local custom noticed in the legends which Aeschylus followed.

498—504. *You herald comes from the shore, as I see by his shade of olive boughs: and the thirsty dust, sister of the mire and neighbour, testifies to me this, that, not with dumb signals of fire-smoke, burning you a bonfire of wood upon a hill, but with a plain word, he will either explicitly bid us rejoice or—etc.*—The riddle of this passage awaits solution. The question is, What *dust* is meant, and how does it show that the herald brings some important news which will presumably throw light upon the recent report? The conventional answers may be divided thus: (1) the dust is that which the herald raises; this shows his haste and therefore the importance of his news: (2)

κλάδοις ἐλαίας. μαρτυρεῖ δέ μοι κάσις
 πηλοῦ ξύνουρος διψία κόνις τάδε,
 ὡς οὐτ' ἀναυδος οὔτε σοι δαίμων φλόγα
 ὕλης ὀρείας σημανεῖ καπνῷ πυρός,
 ἀλλ' ἢ τὸ χαίρειν μᾶλλον ἐκβάξει λέγων—
 τὸν ἀντίον δὲ τοῖσδ' ἀποστέγω λόγον·

500

504. ἀποστέργω.

the dust and the mud are upon the garments of the herald (the mud being on his shoes and the dust on his clothes they are 'neighbours' or 'contiguous'); they show that he has come a long way and so suggest that he has come from Troy (Paley). But neither of these is tolerable. As to (1), it is ridiculous to say 'I see that man is in haste, *because he makes a dust*'. Even supposing that one man running would make a noticeable dust, and that the herald is in violent haste (which there is no reason to suppose), it would still be absurd to cite the dust as evidence of the visible fact that he is running. Moreover this explanation takes no notice at all of the description 'sister of the mire and neighbour', which is set aside as mere flourish but, if it has nothing to do with the subject, should rather be called mere nonsense. Paley's explanation (2) is an honest attempt to meet this last difficulty, but we need scarcely dwell upon it. See further Appendix M.

501. σοι. "The ethic dative emphasizes the tone of contempt for the reports of a beacon" (Wecklein). It has in fact precisely the same effect as in English: *you* stands for *one* as in the common οὐκ ἂν ἀμάρτοις *one cannot fail* etc. On the stage it would be reinforced by a turn or gesture towards those who just before had expressed such strong incredulity. The present speaker inclines rather to believe (v. 494).

502. καπνῷ contemptuous: cf. Eur. *Hipp.* 946 γραμμάτων καπνοί, *learned futilities*.

503: *either his happy greeting will*

confirm the gladness, literally 'he will fully express the announcement that we are to be glad by *saying* it'. τὸ χαίρειν: 'the χαῖρε', the formula of salutation. The herald's first act, according to custom (see v. 801), will be to salute the town. If his salutation is a χαῖρε, as it is (v. 513), well; if not,—. See the same thought differently turned in Soph. *Trach.* 225 χαίρειν δὲ τὸν κήρυκα προυνέπω χρόνῳ | πολλῷ φανέντα, χαρτὸν εἰ τι καὶ φέρεις. For the ἀντίος λόγος see the entrance of the Persian messenger announcing the battle of Salamis (*Pers.* 252), ὦ γῆς ἀπάσης Ἀσιάδος πολίσματα, ... ὦμοι κακὸν κτλ.—ἐκβάξει: βάζειν in the sense of βάζει v. 483. The preposition signifies *extension*, *explicitness*.

504. ἀποστέγω *i.e.* ἀποσιωπῶ, 'I suppress, I leave unsaid', by an *aposiopesis*, as it is still technically called. στέγειν properly *to hold in* (of a net, a vessel etc.) is a regular poetic equivalent for *σιγᾶν* or *σιωπᾶν τι to refrain from saying*. See Soph. *Phil.* 136 τί χρὴ στέγειν, ἢ τί λέγειν; *what should be said or suppressed?*, O. T. 341 ἤξει γὰρ αὐτὰ κἂν ἐγὼ σιγῇ στέγω *even if I refrain from uttering them*, and other examples in L. and Sc. *s.v.*—ἀποστέργω f (*I cease to like, conceive a dislike of*) will not pass. It is said indeed to mean here 'I reject as ill-omened', but there is no proof of this sense (see supposed examples in L. and Sc. *s.v.*) nor is the word capable of it. The case of *abominor* and *abominate* is plainly not analogous. The conjectures ἀποστυγῶ Karsten, ἀποπτύω Arnold, show a part but only a part of the objection. The MS. reading may have arisen from a

εὖ γὰρ πρὸς εὖ φανείσει προσθήκη πέλοι.
 ΧΟ.Β'. ὅστις τὰδ' ἄλλως τῇδ' ἐπεύχεται πόλει,
 αὐτὸς φρενῶν καρποῖτο τὴν ἁμαρτίαν.

505

ΚΗΡΤΞ.

ὦ πατρώων οὐδας Ἀργείας χθονός,
 δεκάτῳ σε φέγγει τῷδ' ἀφικόμην ἔτους,

double γγ, but is more probably a deliberate change made by one who did not recognize the meaning of *στέγω*.—*τὸν ἀντίον λόγον*: the alternative of disappointment.—*τοῖσδε* 'out of respect for these', *i.e.* *τοῖς θεοῖς*, the gods who stand as usual before the palace and to whom the herald addresses himself below (*vv.* 514, 524). The pronoun is explained by a reverent gesture towards the images, a 'deictic' use common in the poets. The construction is the 'ethic' dative, and is very similar to that of *σιωπῶ* in *Ar. Ran.* 1134 *ἐγὼ σιωπῶ τῷδε*, 'am I to pay him the respect of silence?' and *id. Lys.* 530. To abstain from words of ill omen was a special duty in a religious place or presence (see *e.g. Theb.* 234) and the more so at such a solemn moment as this.—That *τοῖσδε* should be so taken, and not as neuter with *ἀντίον*, 'the opposite of this', may be seen (1) from the rhythm; to divide the line after *τοῖσδ'* spoils the caesura, and (2) because superfluous pronouns, such as *τοῖσδε* is if taken with *ἀντίον*, are offensive to Greek habit, above all in poetry. It is an additional argument for *ἀποστέγω* that it provides an acceptable construction for *τοῖσδε*.

506—7. *ὅστις*. *Whoso utters this prayer with other intentions toward Argos (than ours)*, etc. These lines are undoubtedly to be given (as by Wecklein) to a new speaker: otherwise a conjunction would be necessary. But the meaning of the remark becomes clear only when we perceive, as has been shown above, that there are two parties present upon the stage. The words *ὅστις κτλ.* are spoken

by one of the queen's partizans, accepting the prayer of the elder but tacitly of course putting his own sense upon *εὖ φανείσει* (the deception so far kept up) and *προσθήκη* (the final triumph of the conspiracy).—The MS. gives *vv.* 494—505 to Clytaemnestra, *vv.* 506—7 to the chorus, the Byzantine scholars being here as elsewhere unable with their *dramatis personae* to distribute the piece intelligibly.

508. The herald enters, so utterly overcome by past suffering and the present emotion of seeing his native city once more that it is some time before he thinks to tell his news (*v.* 530), and indeed till he is addressed (*v.* 543) he scarcely seems to be aware that any one is present. From his first words (note *οὐδας*) it would seem that he throws himself down, like Shakespeare's Richard II., to salute the beloved earth, and he thinks for the moment that he will die on the spot (*μῖαs τυχῶν v.* 510). The whole speech is marvellously powerful and in any ordinary work would stand out as a golden piece. To the average man in a Greek audience it would perhaps appeal as strongly as anything in the play.

509. *δεκάτῳ φέγγει τῷδ' ἔτους* with *this tenth annual dawn*, if the expression may pass. *φέγγος* is *day*: *φέγγος ἔτους* is an imitation, with special purpose, of the common periphrasis *φέγγος ἡμέρας* and means literally *year-day* or *year counted as a day*, the genitive being that 'of equivalent'. This peculiar phrase is to be explained by the ancient proverbial significance of 'the tenth day'. In Homer

πολλῶν ῥαγείσῳ ἐλπίδων μιᾶς τυχών.
οὐ γάρ ποτ' ἠῦχουν τῇδ' ἐν Ἀργείᾳ χθονὶ
θανὼν μεθέξειν φιλτάτου τάφου μέρος.
νῦν χαῖρε μὲν χθών, χαῖρε δ' ἡλίου φάος,
ὑπατός τε χώρας Ζεὺς ὁ Πύθιός τ' ἄναξ,
τόξοις ἰάπτων μηκέτ' εἰς ἡμᾶς βέλη·
ἄλις παρὰ Σκάμανδρον ἦλθ' ἀνάρσιος·
νῦν δ' αὖτε σωτήρ ἴσθι καὶ παιώνιος,
ἄναξ Ἀπολλων. τοὺς τ' ἀγωνίους θεοὺς

510

515

517. παρώνιος.

ἐννήμαρ is the regular term for *ever so long, days and days*, and τῇ δεκάτῃ the correlative term for *at last*. Thus at the slaying of the Greeks by the arrows of Apollo (*Il.* i. 53), ἐννήμαρ μὲν ἀνὰ στρατὸν ὥχετο κῆλα θεοῖο | τῇ δεκάτῃ δέ κτλ. (where see Leaf's note), of Niobe's children (*Il.* 24. 610) οἱ μὲν ἄρ' ἐννήμαρ κέατ' ἐν φόνῳ, οὐδέ τις ἦεν καθάψαι... | τοὺς δ' ὅρα τῇ δεκάτῃ θάψαν θεοί, and so frequently both in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. (The first-cited passage seems to have been actually in Aeschylus' mind; see the reference to the arrows of Apollo in *vv.* 514—518.) Thus to a Greek ear δεκάτῳ φέγγει τῷδε of itself suggested 'at last', and δεκάτῳ φέγγει τῷδ' ἔτους 'after all these weary years'. Of course the literal truth of the number in this case is consistent with the point, or rather is itself the point. It is also material here and throughout this scene to remember the supposed hour, just after sunrise.

510. ῥαγείσῳ: the exact metaphor intended is doubtful. The schol. refers it to anchors, one of which may hold when the rest *break*. Others (see L. and Sc. *s.v.* ῥήγνυμι) render it by *wrecked*, as a ship, but in the passage cited for this (Demosth. p. 1289) ῥαγῆναι does not mean 'to be wrecked', but 'to spring a leak'. Probably the tradition of the scholia is correct.—τυχών belongs in any case not to the metaphor but properly to ἐλπίδος.

514. ὑπατός τε Ζεὺς: supply χαρέτω. The images of these and other deities are

before the palace.

515. βέλη: τίσειαν Δαναοὶ ἐμὰ δάκρυα σοῖσι βέλεσσιν, prayer of Chryses to Apollo in *Il.* i. 42. See above on *v.* 509.

516. ἄλις... ἦλθε long enough he came in enmity to Scamander's plan, as for instance on the occasion just mentioned, βῆ δὲ κατ' Οὐλύμποιο καρήνων χωόμενος κῆρ, τόξ' ὤμοισιν ἔχων... ὃ δ' ἦε νυκτὶ εἰοικώς. The descents of the gods upon the scene are a striking feature of Homeric story.—The momentary deflexion into the third person, already prepared by the nominatives in *v.* 514, is perfectly natural when referring to one not present, except symbolically in the image; and it has here the great rhetorical advantage of sharpening the contrast between the hostile Apollo in the Troad and the friendly Apollo in Argos, the Apollo of the past and the Apollo of the present, by the return to the form of invocation in the next line, where the resumption is marked by a fresh vocative (ἄναξ Ἀπολλων) inserted for this very purpose.—The change of ἦλθ' to ἦσθ' (many modern texts) injures not only the rhetoric but the grammar; note the case of Σκάμανδρον.

517. παρώνιος Dobree.

518. τοὺς ἀγωνίους θεοὺς these assembled gods or gods in assembly. This term occurs also in the *Supplices* (195 and 248) where there is no doubt as to the meaning, 'gods assembled in one place, and having one common worship', κοινοβωμῶν *Supp.* 228. An examination of that passage

πάντας προσαυδῶ, τὸν τ' ἐμὸν τιμάορον
 Ἑρμῆν, φίλον κήρυκα, κηρύκων σέβας,
 ἥρως τε τοὺς πέμψαντας, εὐμενεῖς πάλιν
 στρατὸν δέχεσθαι τὸν λελειμμένον δορός.
 ἰὼ μέλαθρα βασιλέων, φίλαι στέγαι,
 σεμνοί τε θᾶκοι, δαίμονες τ' ἀντήλιοι

520

will show that there no other sense is possible, since the deities are recognized as collectively ἀγῶνιοι by newly arrived foreigners, who have not yet identified any of them. There, as here, the reference is to the religious custom of Argos, and among the gods, there as here, are Zeus, Apollo, and Hermes. There is therefore every reason to suppose that the sense here is the same and that a similar κοινοβωμία is represented before the palace of Agamemnon. It is probable (see L. and Sc. s.v.) that the word was also sometimes used for ἀγοραῖοι 'the gods of an agora (ἀγών) or gods of assembly'; it might well have both senses at once, if a κοινοβωμία were, in a particular case, connected with an agora. But ἀγοραῖος was not to Aeschylus the primary sense, for the κοινοβωμία of the *Supplices* is not in an agora but in a lonely place near the sea.—Wecklein takes the same view.

519. τὸν τε and him. τὸν, like τοὺς in v. 518, is demonstrative (not 'and my defender'). τιμάορον: 'defender' because of the religious inviolability attaching to the persons of heralds, of whose office Hermes, the divine κήρυξ, was patron.

522. στρατὸν ... δορός receive back their army—what of it the war hath spared. The last words come in as a correction; the expression for the part is accommodated to the whole, as in ἡ ἡμίσεια τῆς γῆς.

524. θᾶκοι: seats for the king and probably for his councillors before the gate of the palace. Wecklein refers to Hom. *Od.* 2. 14, 3. 406.—δαίμονες τ' ἀντήλιοι κτλ. and ye deities that look eastward (ah, what a while!), with this bright gladness in your eyes welcome fitly

the long-absent king. ἀντήλιοι 'eastward-looking', as in Soph. *Ai.* 805 οἱ μὲν ἐσπέρουσ ἀγκῶνας οἱ δ' ἀντηλίους ζητεῖτε.—ἤ που πάλαι: literally 'surely methinks a long while', a parenthetic comment upon ἀντήλιοι, from which the same adjective in a participial sense, *quasi* ἀντήλιοι ὄντες, is to be supplied. It must be remembered that in Greek πάλαι εἰμι represents the English 'I have long been'; in English it would be more natural though not absolutely necessary to repeat the verb in the perfect, 'ye that look eastward—and ah! how long ye have looked'.—φαιδροῖσι *bright* both literally and in the common derived sense of 'glad'; it is here a predicate.—τοισίδ' ὄμμασιν 'these eyes' i.e. 'your eyes as I now see them': it is not necessary or desirable to write τοῖσιν (h).—κόσμφ, dative of manner, combines the ideas of what is due and decent (cf. κοσμίως and see Pind. *Pyth.* 3. 82 τὰ μὲν ὦν (πῆματα) οὐ δύνανται νήπιοι κόσμφ φέρειν) and of honour.—The significance of this beautiful thought lies in the circumstances of the place and the hour. The new-risen sun, as we have seen (v. 509), naturally associates itself in the mind of the man with the end of his long misery. The connexion of recovered happiness with the morning was indeed fixed in the language (v. 276); and the symbolism is important in more than one play (see for example the *Electra* of Sophocles v. 19 μέλαινα τ' ἄστρων ἐκλέλοιπεν εὐφρόνη and Prof. Jebb's note there). The herald has come up from the port by the eastern road, and the king is coming from the same direction. The palace and the gods before it look towards the approach, and at this moment

(ἢ που πάλαι), φαιδροῖσι τοισίδ' ὄμμασιν 525
 δέξασθε κόσμῳ βασιλέα πολλῷ χρόνῳ.
 ἦκει γὰρ ἡμῖν, φῶς ἐν εὐφρόνῃ φέρων
 καὶ τοῖσδ' ἅπασι κοινόν, Ἀγαμέμνων ἀναξ.
 ἀλλ' εὖ νιν ἀσπάσασθε, καὶ γὰρ οὖν πρέπει,
 Τροίαν κατασκάψαντα τοῦ δικηφόρου 530
 Διὸς μακέλλη, τῇ κατείργασται πέδον,

the faces of the ancient statues, the eyes probably inlaid after the archaic fashion with brilliant stones, are full-lit (Schneidewin) by the level rays. They beam (so thinks the man) with joy for the sun-like return of the king, *as if, through the night of his absence, they had themselves felt it long to be looking seawards and Troywards in vain expectation.*—Of the reading here I cannot myself entertain the smallest suspicion. There are many conjectures, and it has even been proposed to strike out *v.* 525. For *ἢ που πάλαι*, treated as hopeless, is commonly substituted *ἐλ που πάλαι* *if ever ye did before* (Auratus). But, to say nothing of what is thus lost, such language can be used only of what is likely to have happened before (such as a victorious return); but the coincidence of a triumphant entry from the sea-side into Argos with the first hour of the morning is just not such a fact, and in this striking coincidence lies the very gist of the matter. Nor is it clear that *ἐλ που* would be correct for *ἐλ ποτε* (Soph. *O. T.* 162, and *passim*): in Aristoph. *Eq.* 347 *ἐλ που δικίδιον εἶπας εὖ, ... ὥου δυνατὸς εἶναι λέγειν, ἐλ που* means, as usual, *not if ever but if perhaps*. There may be better instances, but the investigation would not be here relevant.

527—528. *For our prince is returned, bringing light in darkness to impart unto all that are here; he is come, Agamemnon the king.* ἡμῖν, a dative possessive or of the person interested (*commodi*), stands for Argos and the Argives generally, but also more particularly for the army, whom the κῆρυξ specially represents.—*καὶ τοῖσδ' ἅπασι κοινόν* literally '(to be) shared with

all here also'. The words are joined as a 'proleptic' predicate with *φέρων*. The 'light' of the victory has come to the army already; now the king is bringing it to Argos that those at home may have their share.—*τοῖσδε* 'those here' in the broadest sense of *οὗδε* as the correlative to *ἐκεῖνος*: it includes the city, the gods, the other objects of his address, and much more with them.—All modern texts have *ὑμῖν* (*i.e.* *φέρων ὑμῖν καὶ τοῖσδ' ἅπασι*), the conjecture of *h*, obvious and specious, if the verses are written without punctuation. But *f*, giving what is better and not so obvious, is entitled to credit; that the editor of the *Cod. Farn.* should make an easy-looking change is a matter of course.

530. *τοῦ δικηφόρου Διὸς μακέλλη.* The compounds in *-φορος* as epithets of deities so constantly mark the distinguishing emblem 'carried' by the figure in artistic representation, that this phrase would inevitably suggest to a Greek the conception of Zeus' *δίκη* as a *δικεῖλλα* (*two-pronged hoe*), especially as the contemporaries of Aeschylus would see no difficulty in deriving *δικηφόρος* from *δικεῖλλα* (the *-ελλ-* being 'lost') and *δικεῖλλα* itself from *δι-μακέλλα*. It is likely that such a notion had been actually embodied in art. See on this subject generally Appendix II. to the *Seven against Thebes*.

531. *κατείργασται πέδον her ground has been broken to dust*, literally 'tilled to pieces', the intensive *κατα-* marking the extreme limit of the process, as in *καταλῶ* *destroy*, 'loose to its atoms', *κατὰγνυμι break to pieces*, *καταθῶ burn up*, etc. The force of *κατεργάζομαι* is

βωμοὶ δ' αἶστοι καὶ θεῶν ἰδρύματα
καὶ σπέρμα πάσης ἐξαπόλλυται χθονός.
τοιόνδε Τροίᾳ περιβαλὼν ζευκτήριον
ἄναξ Ἀτρείδης πρέσβυς εὐδαίμων ἀνὴρ
ἥκει, τίεσθαι δ' ἀξιώτατος βροτῶν
τῶν νῦν· Πάρις γὰρ οὔτε συντελὴς πόλιν

535

534. τοιούδε.

well shown in the special sense of *masticating* (*working to pieces*) food; see L. and Sc. s. v.

532. *Her foundations are undiscoverable and her fixed fabrics of religion, and all she might rise from is perishing out of the earth.* βωμοί in the full sense (see v. 395) including altars but not these only. The reader may be reminded that except the religious buildings, which may properly include the king's palace, the *prytaneum*, and even the wall, a Greek town or rather fort in the heroic age, and for the most part even till the fifth century, contained very little which would not rapidly perish of itself. See the remarks of Thucydides (i. 10) on an imaginary abandonment and decay of Sparta and of Athens, where τὰ τε ἱερὰ καὶ τῆς κατασκευῆς τὰ ἐδάφη is a prose equivalent for βωμοὶ καὶ θεῶν ἰδρύματα.—αἶστοι literally. It cannot be learnt (ἰδεῖν, εἰδέναι) where they were.—σπέρμα πάσης, i.e. αὐτῆς, τῆς Τροίας, the same possessive pronoun being supplied from the leading word Τροίαν all through vv. 530—533 with πέδον, βωμοί, ἰδρύματα, σπέρμα: literally, 'seed of any of her'.—That πάσης is constructed with σπέρμα, not with χθονός, is shown both by the natural division of the rhythm and by the sense. Without the genitive the metaphorical meaning of σπέρμα could scarcely be understood.—ἐξαπόλλυται χθονός. Note the tense. The metaphorical conception, not strictly possible but sufficient for poetry, is that of a soil so pulverised (see on v. 531), that there is left in it nothing capable of growth, and the vegetable fragments can only decay.

'Seeds' of course could not be so destroyed, but notwithstanding σπέρμα, which has a free use in metaphor, it is rather of an olive-yard or a vineyard that the poet is thinking. The elaborate devastations of these, regularly practised as a method of war, has suggested the image.—The whole of this passage is closely and verbally imitated from the account of the destruction of Athens by Xerxes (*Pers.* 811 foll.), put by the poet into the mouth of Darius. The ghost of the wise king continues thus, τοιγὰρ κακῶς δράσαντες οὐκ ἐλάσσονα πάσχοιμι, words which lend an ominous significance to the herald's boasts in vv. 537—538.

534. τοιόνδε...ζευκτήριον so strong compulsion hath he put upon Troy. Anything which binds or holds tight is ζευκτήριον, from the generalized sense of the verb not uncommon in poetry, e.g. *Soph. Ant.* 955 ζεύχθη...πετρώδει κατάφαρκτος ἐν δεσμῷ: it is in fact a metaphorical equivalent for ἀνάγκη. The notion of yoke is not necessarily given by the word and would not suit with that of destruction.

535. εὐδαίμων ἀνὴρ. The addition of ἀνὴρ (cf. the common formula εἰς ἀνὴρ) signifies something like 'individually happy' i.e. 'singular in his prosperity'. So εὐσεβὴς ἀνὴρ 'one pious man' contrasted with the impious many, *Theb.* 589.

537—538. τῶν νῦν· Πάρις γὰρ κτλ. The words τῶν νῦν are emphasized by the irregular pause after the first foot. See *Theb.* 566 and the index to that play s. v. *Pause*.—The ominous effect of these lines (see on v. 532) is aided by their

ἐξεύχεται τὸ δράμα τοῦ πάθους πλέον.
ὀφλὼν γὰρ ἀρπαγῆς τε καὶ κλοπῆς δίκην
τοῦ ῥυσίου θ' ἤμαρτε καὶ πανώλεθρον

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ambiguity. The intention is of course that Agamemnon, having more than avenged his honour upon Troy, has now no rival in the world. But it is so worded as rather to suggest that, since Troy has paid in full, it is against her cruel devastator that the balance of sin now lies. For *τίεσθαι* is an indecisive word, limited conventionally to *reward* or *honour*, but easily reverting to its proper sense of *payment*.—Πάρις γὰρ οὔτε *i.e.* οὔτε Πάρις οὔτε. Wecklein suggests οὐδέ, *i.e.* οὐ Πάρις οὐδέ, which would certainly be more regular; so in *Cho.* 293, *Soph. Phil.* 771 etc.—*συντελής* literally 'joined with him in payment' or 'liability to payment'. Troy in receiving him adopted his act and has shared his punishment. See *vv.* 405–408. The metaphor seems to go back to some police custom, such as is common in ancient law, by which a certain society, as a kinship or the inhabitants of a district, is held to payment in property or person for crimes of a member.

539. ἀρπαγῆς τε καὶ κλοπῆς *of rapine as well as theft i.e.* 'theft aggravated by rapine', ἀρπαγή meaning violent robbery as contrasted with κλοπή, simple stealing. The aggravation naturally increased the penalty and perhaps, under the law or custom to which Aeschylus alludes, also involved the extension of the responsibility. There would be a rough fairness in this, for a ἀρπαγή as distinct from a κλοπή could seldom be done without assistance, and to fix the guilt upon individuals might be difficult. The act of Paris, whatever it was in the first instance, became ἀρπαγή when Troy supported it by war.—Wecklein notes that according to *Hom. Il.* 13. 626 Paris carried off other plunder (κτήματα πολλά) with Helen.

540. τοῦ ῥυσίου θ' ἤμαρτε κτλ. 'he

has not only lost the *reprisal*'. τὸ ῥύσιον 'what is taken by way of reprisal', *i.e.* the stolen thing itself or an equivalent and something besides by way of satisfaction. This would be the penalty for mere theft. That ῥύσιον may have this original meaning even in Attic poetry, is proved by *Soph. Phil.* 958 θανὼν παρέξω δαῖθ' ὑφ' ὧν ἐφερβόμην...φόνον φόνου δὲ ῥύσιον τίσω τάλας. It was also specialised to 'that which is taken as a *pledge*, ἐνέχυρον', but that idea here only makes difficulty. In *L.* and *Sc. s. v.* it seems to be suggested that Hermann, who discusses the word elaborately, gives it here the sense of *pledge*; but he takes it much as I have done.

ib. καὶ πανώλεθρον.....δόμον 'but hath also ruined and razed his own father's house, it and the place thereof together'. This penalty, we are doubtless to understand, was prescribed literally by this more than Draconian law, and not merely in the metaphorical sense that the fine would ruin the *συντελείς*, the family of the criminal. For a heinous act of rapine, a barbarous custom might well prescribe not only, as a matter of course, the extinction of the robber-family, but also the actual literal destruction of their house. Such extravagant and dramatic aggravations are quite in the spirit of savage legislation.—We need not press the parallel to details or ask what was the ῥύσιον in the case of Troy, whether Helen herself or what else. The point is simply to palliate the sacrilegious barbarities exercised upon Troy by a precedent from private law, showing that when the crime is *aggravated*, the penalty may be (1) made very severe and (2) extended beyond the offender. The custom cited is itself barbarous and antiquated, and the plea would appear to an audience of Aeschylus' day, as the pur-

αὐτόχθον' ὃν πατρῶον ἔθρισεν δόμον.

διπλᾷ δ' ἔτισαν Πριαμίδαι θάμάρτια.

ΧΟ. κῆρυξ Ἀχαιῶν χαίρε τῶν ἀπὸ στρατοῦ.

ΚΗ. χαίρω· τεθνᾶναι δ' οὐκ ἀντερῶ θεοῖς†.

541. αὐτόχθονον.

pose requires, worthless. It is in fact self-condemnatory, for the real object of the sacrilege committed at Troy was ἀρπαγὴ (see *vv.* 350 foll.).—αὐτόχθον' ὃν or αὐτόχθονον (?). I prefer on the whole Blomfield's way of reading the letters. The emphatic ὃν 'his own' is surely not, as Hermann says, superfluous but much to the point.—αὐτόχθονα: here 'even to the site on which it stood', literally 'ground and all'; cf. αὐτόπρεμος, αὐτόρριζος etc.—For αὐτόχθονον Hermann makes the subtle defence that the form αὐτόχθονος is used deliberately in order to distinguish this meaning from the common αὐτόχθων indigenous. But it would be strange that this scruple should occur to a Greek poet who was incessantly using one compound in two and three senses, and who saw, for instance, no difficulty in ἀφθονος *not invidious*, *v.* 477.

541. διπλᾷ ἔτισαν θάμάρτια *they have paid the double of the loss*, another analogy from the law of theft, but from a more humane jurisprudence. The antithesis is noticeable and betrays the weakness of the plea.—ἔτισαν θάμάρτια: ἀμάρτιον seems to occur only here and perhaps in *Pers.* 679 where both reading and interpretation are uncertain. For the rendering *loss* argue here (1) the use of *τινῶ*, commonly used only of what is actually paid, not of the crime for which it is paid, and (2) the occurrence of *ἡμαρτε* lost just above.—Another interpretation, τὸν μισθὸν τῆς ἀμαρτίας, is given by the schol. and would resemble εὐαγγέλια *reward for good tidings* (Sidgwick), though εὐαγγέλια is a regularly formed secondary adjective from εὐάγγελος, so that the analogy is imperfect.—The herald, who, it will be observed, has not

addressed any one except the gods, stops abruptly and remains absorbed in his feelings till one of the elders addresses him.

543. τῶν ἀπὸ στρατοῦ *i.e.* τῶν στρατευομένων. The preposition is used in the pregnant manner which may be called regular in Greek: the description of the army itself is coloured by the fact that the herald comes from it. But note carefully the peculiarity in the use of στρατός: οἱ ἀπὸ στρατοῦ can stand, by the 'pregnant' use of the preposition, for οἱ ἐν στρατῷ or οἱ κατὰ στρατόν: but in all these phrases στρατός stands not as a collective for *the soldiers* but for the *form*, so to speak, of an army. In short it is used as an abstraction, equivalent to *στρατεία*, a use noticeable but not unnatural.

544. This line is hopeless. οὐκέτ' ἀντερῶ (h and its scholia) is merely a bad conjecture; τεθνᾶναι (for τεθνάναι) is a figment.—As it is hard to see a reason for the emphatic θεοῖς, we may affirm perhaps (with Hermann, Weil) that part of the line was χαίρω...τεθνᾶναι δ' οὐκ ἀντερῶ, and that θεοῖς is merely a patch.—All the modern restorations seem to assume that τεθνάναι οὐκ ἀντερῶ or οὐκέτ' ἀντερῶ could mean *I will not refuse to die*. But τεθνάναι, though for some purposes interchangeable with θανεῖν, could in this connexion give only the meaning *I will not deny that I am dead*. This however is not so impossible as it might seem. Though the evidence does not warrant any conclusion, I will add as a mere guess that the words τεθνάναι δ' οὐκ ἀντερῶ 'but that I am dead I will not gainsay' seem to turn on the familiar use of χαίρε (in funerals, epitaphs etc.) as an

- ΧΟ. ἔρωσ πατρώας τῆσδε γῆς σ' ἐγύμνασεν. 545
 ΚΗ. ὥστ' ἐνδακρύειν γ' ὄμμασιν χαρᾶς ὕπο.
 ΧΟ. τερπνῆς ἄρ' ἵστε τῆσδ' ἐπήβολοι νόσου.
 ΚΗ. πῶς δῆ; διδαχθεὶς τοῦδε δεσπόσω λόγου.
 ΧΟ. τῶν ἀντερώντων ἰμέρω πεπληγμένοις.
 ΚΗ. ποθεῖν ποθοῦντα τήνδε γῆν στρατὸν λέγεις. 550
 ΧΟ. ὡς πόλλ' ἀμαυρᾶς ἐκ φρενός σ' ἀναστένειν.

551. φρενὸς ἀναστένειν.

address to the dead. The poets often play with the senses of this word. Thus e.g. χαίρω; τί χαίρω; τὸ τεθνάναι δ' οὐκ ἀντερῶ (where χαίρω is deliberative subjunctive) would mean 'Be glad! Thou need'st not say *be glad*. Though indeed the greeting of the dead suits me well enough', being thus exhausted with past misery and present joy. Both the play on χαίρε and the play on τεθνάναι may be illustrated from the farewell scene between Polyxena, going to her death, and Hecuba (Eur. *Hec.* 426 foll.): *Pol.* χαῖρ' (farewell), ὦ τεκοῦσα, χαίρε Κασσάνδρα τέ μοι. *Hec.* χαίρουντι ἄλλοι, μητρὶ δ' οὐκ ἔστιν τόδε (others may take comfort, but not a mother)...*Pol.* ζῆ (Πολύδωρος) καὶ θανούσης ὅμῃα συγκλήσει τὸ σόν. *Hec.* τέθνηκ' ἔγωγε πρὶν θανεῖν κακῶν ὕπο. See also Eur. *Hel.* 286 τοῖς πράγμασιν τέθνηκα, id. *Or.* 1028 ἄλις ἀπ' Ἀργείας χερὸς τέθνηκα (*I have been tortured*). This, or something like it, would also give its proper sense (*I admit*) to οὐκ ἀντερῶ.—It must not however be taken as certain even that ἀντερῶ stands for ἀντερῶ. It may equally stand for ἀντερῶ, signifying to be jealously in love with death, 'jealous of the buried dead', and the reply rather points to something of this kind.

545. ἐγύμνασεν *hath tortured thee*, a strong word: see *P. V.* 605 πυρὶ με φλέγον ἢ χθονὶ κάλυψον...μηδὲ μοι φθονήσης εὐγμάτων. ἄδην με πολὺπλανοὶ πλάναι γεγυμνάκασιν, and Soph. *Trach.* 1083.

546. ἐνδακρύειν: literally 'weep into it', i.e. the earth. The expression shows

that the man is still kneeling or has again knelt.

547. *Then learn that it is a sweet languishing which ye have taken*; because, as they explain, love returned is sweet.—τερπνῆς predicate.—τῆσδε νόσου: ἔρωτος.—ἐπήβολοι: cf. *v.* 825 τῷ πεπαμένῳ νόσον. A passive sense of ἐπήβολος (*taken by*) does not seem to be certified.—Hermann defends ἵστε, taking ἐπήβολοι as equivalent to a participle (ἐπήβολοι ὄντες): and it is not safe to reject it. Cf. Soph. *O. C.* 806 ἀνδρα δ' οὐδὲν οἶδ' ἐγὼ δίκαιον ὅστις ἐξ ἄπαντος εὖ λέγει. It is characteristic of Aeschylus to use adjectives participially.—ἵστε (*were*, irregular form, Ahrens), ἦτε h.

549. πεπληγμένοις. As this line explains and continues *v.* 547, consistency would of course require πεπληγμένοι (Tyrwhitt and modern texts). But according to the practical grammar of speech and poetry, as distinguished from logical theory, there is not the least objection to the singular. From the singular *σε* of *v.* 545 the speaker deflects, without any reason except the caprice of thought, into the plural ἵστε of *v.* 547 and then back again to the singular in *v.* 549. Either might have been used throughout indifferently. (Cf. Soph. *Ai.* 1217 γενόμεν...ὅπως προσείποιμεν.) The re-appearance of the singular gives the feeling a more personal turn. To change it is to stiffen the movement of life. See also next note.

551. 'Aye, and oft sighed for thee from a weary heart'. φρενός σ'. The

ΚΗ. πόθεν τὸ δύσφρον; τοῦτ' ἐπὴν στύγος στρατῶ;

ΧΟ. πάλαι τὸ σιγᾶν φάρμακον βλάβης ἔχω.

ΚΗ. καὶ πῶς; ἀπόντων κοιράνων ἔτρεις τινάς;

ΧΟ. ὥς νῦν—τὸ σὸν δὴ—καὶ θανεῖν πολλὰ χάρις.

555

554. τυράννων.

555. ὦν.

correction of Boissonade is preferable to *φρενός μ'* (Scaliger) because, as *ἀναστένω*, *ἀνασπενάω* are generally *transitive*, and the subject, the personified land, is instinctively supplied, *με* would appear to be the object, contrary to the sense. *ἀναστένειν* *to sigh for* (cf. *ἀνακαλεῖν*) is commonly used of the absent or the dead. *Supra* 417 and Eur. *Or.* 156 *ἐτι μὲν ἐμπνέει, βραχὺ δ' ἀναστένει* are among the few examples in tragedy of an intransitive use: in id. *Hec.* 186 *τί με δυσφρμεῖς... τί ποτ' ἀναστένεις*; the object (*με*) is continued and the verb means (see the context) *to call as if dead*.—For the interchange of *στρατὸν* and *σε*, see previous note.

552. The herald, at first merely puzzled by this enigmatic salutation, begins to perceive that there is something behind.—*πόθεν...στρατῶ*; *Whence this melancholy? Was there yet this in reserve to distress us that have fought?*, an exclamation of disappointment, 'Have we come home only to find more trouble here?' which is indeed the fact. The sense of *ἐπεῖναι* 'to be destined, to be waiting in the future', resembles the common use of it for *appointed* punishments and *appointed* rewards (see L. and Sc. s. v.) and very closely that in Hesiod, *Op.* 114 (the subject is mankind in the golden age) *ὥστε θεοὶ δ' ἔξων ἀκηδέα θυμὸν ἔχοντες, | νόσφιν ἄτερ τε πόνων καὶ οἰζύος οὐδέ τι δειλὸν | γῆρας ἐπὴν (no miserable old age awaited them), αἰεὶ δὲ πόδας καὶ χεῖρας ὁμοῖοι τέρποντ' ἐν θαλίῃσι κτλ.* See also the cognate *ἐφεστάναι* in Hom. *Il.* 12. 322 foll. (if to shun war had been to live ageless and deathless, it would have been well to shun it), *νῦν δ' ἐμπεγὴς γὰρ κήρες ἐφεστᾶσιν*

θανάτοιο | μυρία, ἃς οὐκ ἔστι φυγεῖν βροτὸν οὐδ' ὑπαλύξαι, | ἴομεν, where the underlying metaphor becomes explicit. The force of the preposition is the same as in *ἐφεδρος a fighter in reserve, ἐπιτάσσεσθαι to be posted in reserve* etc. It belongs chiefly to military terms and ideas and suits therefore here the phrase and speaker.—*στύγος* (cf. v. 563) is a further predicate, and upon this rather than upon the verb depends *στρατῶ*.—Taken as one sentence this line is generally given up and cannot in fact be construed. But there is no fault except the punctuation. The difficulty has arisen partly from the assumption that *ἐπὴν στύγος στρατῶ* naturally means 'grief affected (was upon) the army'. But *ἐπεῖναι* is never so used. In Soph. *Ai.* 1216 *τίς μοι ἐτι τέρψις ἔπεται*; the only example offered, it has its common sense 'to be further added' or, if we read with some *ἔπεστον*, the same sense as here, 'What pleasure awaits me?'

553. *I have long used silence to prevent hurt* (*φάρμακον βλάβης* like *ἄκος ὕπνου* in v. 17), a reply ambiguous between the senses 'Least said is soonest mended', and 'Things have been so with us that we dared not even speak'. It thus answers, while it avoids, the question *πόθεν τὸ δύσφρον*;

554. *καὶ πῶς*; *In what sense?* See preceding note.—*κοιράνων* h. *τυράννων* (f) is a curious error, sprung from the spelling *κυράνων*, which (with perhaps a gloss *τυράννων*) was probably the reading of M.

555. 'So that now, in thine own phrase, I would right gladly even die' (P).—*τὸ σὸν δὴ* alluding to vv. 510—512, and, perhaps also to v. 544 as it originally stood.—I have given here, but without

ΚΗ. εὖ γὰρ πέπρακται, ταῦτα δ' ἐν πολλῷ χρόνῳ.
 τὰ μὲν τις εὖ λέξειεν εὐπετῶς ἔχειν,
 τὰ δ' αὖτε καπίμομφα· τίς δὲ πλὴν θεῶν
 ἅπαντ' ἀπήμων τὸν δι' αἰῶνος χρόνον;

faith, Scaliger's *ὡς* for *ὦν*: it is impossible to say anything certain respecting language obscure both by intention and by accident. The general purpose is fairly clear.—Here the herald, eager to be rid of a disagreeable subject which seems to lead to nothing definite, breaks off, upon the topic of present satisfaction (εὖ γὰρ πέπρακται), into a more congenial theme. One plain word might have saved the king. But the elders cannot make up their minds.

556—587. This very curious and remarkable speech is irregular throughout, even extremely irregular, but not with the irregularity of accidental defacement. Any attempt to reduce it to the laws of academic precision is mistaken. Its aberrations are all of one kind. They are all such as distinguish popular rhetoric from scientific and educated rhetoric. We do not of course suppose that in the streets of Athens any more than elsewhere people talked like a book. In Greek as in other languages, real speech must have had its breaks, leaps, entanglements, and other incompletenesses. For Aeschylus, as for any artist equal to the task, it would be worth while to imitate this in a proper place, and here is exactly the proper place. We have a man of the people wrought to the highest pitch of emotion, pouring out in a voice half choked with sobs and tears a story which is pathetic just because the misery of it is vulgar and commonplace. We should be doing mischief in polishing his periods to the stateliness of Agamemnon or the subtlety of Clytaemnestra.

556. *Aye, all is well, well with allowance for the time*, literally 'but *that* in a long time', ταῦτα standing for the verb εὖ πέπρακται: compare the common use

of καὶ ταῦτα 'and that', and see also *v.* 1319.—It gives a better point to take these words separately, though if they are attached, as usual, to the next line the meaning is practically the same.

557—559. *A man must speak well of his fortune, though some of it be not so good. Only a god can be without trouble all his time*: literally, 'Let a man praise some things, that they are fortunate, and other things, though objectionable', *i.e.* if he gets good, let him take the worse with it and call it all good together.—εὖ λέξειεν: there is no 'loss of *ἀν'* here. The simple optative is correctly used as a kind of imperative. In the older language this is common both in general and in particular injunctions, *e.g.* *Od.* 18. 141 τῷ μήτις ποτὲ πάμπαν ἀνὴρ ἀθελιστίος εἴη, | ἀλλ' ὅγε σιγῇ δῶρα θεῶν ἔχοι *I would have a man not be lawless*, *Od.* 4. 735 ἀλλὰ τις ὀτρυνῶς Δολίου καλέσειε γέροντα, etc. (See Monro, *Homeric Grammar*, § 299, Kühner, *Gr. Gramm.* II. § 395. 7.) It survives in later writers chiefly in maxims, such as this, *v.* 1375, and Aristoph. *Vesp.* 1431, ἔρδοι τις ἦν ἕκαστος εἰδείη τέχνην. In Pindar *Pyth.* 10. 21 θεὸς εἴη ἀπήμων κέαρ *it must be left to a god to have an untroubled heart* we have a construction somewhat similar, and in fact Pindar is quoting the latter part of the same proverb, which Aeschylus (*vv.* 558—559) here turns in his own language.—εὖ λέξειεν εὐπετῶς ἔχειν: literally 'say in their praise that they are fortunate'; cf. *v.* 452, εὖ λέγοντες τὸν μὲν ὡς μάχης ἰδρύς (ἔστιν).—εὖ...εὐπετῶς. This assonance of εὖ is a favourite with the Attic poets, occurring not only where the word is repeated in exactly the same sense (as in *v.* 505, and *Supp.* 225, εὖ τ' ἐπεμψεν εὖ τε

μόχθους γὰρ εἰ λέγοιμι καὶ δυσανλίας,
σπαρνὰς παρήξεις καὶ κακοστρώτους (τί δ' οὐ

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δεξάσθω), but also where the sense is only imperfectly parallel, as here and in *Eum.* 869 εὖ δρῶσαν εὖ πάσχουσιν εὖ τιμωμένην, and even where it is not parallel at all, as in *Soph. Trach.* 296 ὅμως δ' ἐνεστί τοῖσιν εὖ σκοποῦμένοις ταρβεῖν τὸν εὖ πρᾶσσοντα μὴ σφαλῇ ποτε. The presence of εὖ πετῶς therefore confirms, not impeaches, the genuineness of εὖ λέξειεν.—Modern texts mostly give the arbitrary correction of Auratus ἂν λέξειεν, on the ground, true but not material, that λέξειεν cannot stand for ἂν λέξειεν, *he would say*.

560—572. In this long period the hypothesis is expressed in several shapes, some hypothetical and some not, and the sequence is never expressed at all, but overleaped by a transition to a further stage of thought. The gist of it is this, 'We have suffered much, but all's well that ends well'. Paraphrased in logical form, it might run thus: 'For if I were to reckon all our miseries and privations, whether in the ships (560—562), both by night (560—561) and by day (561—562), or on land (563—567), where the neighbourhood of the enemy aggravated (563—564) the pains of exposure to the damps of the ground and the air (565—567), if I counted up our various distresses from extreme cold to extreme heat (568—571), [*it would make a heavy total: but*] why complain of what is past (572)?' etc. But the hypothetical clause loses itself in parentheses and ejaculations, starting again more or less in its track at *v.* 568, and the answering clause disappears altogether in the abrupt transition at *v.* 571. Further almost every section has a minor irregularity of its own.

560. *δυσανλίας* *bad quarters* for sleeping; see ἀνλίσσθαι. He divides these under the heads of 'ship-quarters' and 'land-quarters', marking this in an

irregular way by the antithesis τὰ δ' αὖτε χέρσῳ. The ships, it must be remembered, drawn up on shore and protected by a rampart, formed part of the camp. It is of this use that he speaks as well as of the voyage.

561. The miseries of the ships are again mentally divided into 'night' and 'day', night appearing in κακοστρώτους (*uncomfortable as beds*) and day being thrown in parenthetically.—παρήξεις: a word of uncertain derivation, but here obviously describing something like 'berths'. There seems no reason why it should not be formed, inelegantly but according to analogy, as τῆξις from τήκω, from παρήκειν *to pass into*, so that σπαρνή πάρηξις would be 'a place into which one could barely get'. The guess of the scholia παραδρομαί (*passages*) does not seem to suit the context.—παρίξεις (Wecklein) is certainly a better form.

ιδ. τί δ' οὐ...μέρος; Two questions must here be distinguished (1) the construction irrespective of the case of the participles, (2) the nominative case. Irrespective of the case, if, that is, we assume for the moment the reading στένοντας οὐ λαχόντας, there is no difficulty: the context supplies both εἰ λέγοιμι and the pronoun ἡμᾶς, and the translation is 'while in the day-time we had—every privation to lament'. Wellauer, though his explanation is not exactly right, is alone in perceiving the main points, that the negatives are not parallel but have each their separate force, and that the participles are not parallel but subordinated one to the other. τί οὐ; stands as usual for πᾶν, and the rest of the sentence is constructed exactly as if πᾶν were written. The first negative has no force beyond converting the interrogative τί into πᾶν. And note that this is clearly conveyed to the ear

στένοντες οὐ λαχόντες ἡματος μέρος;) ,
τὰ δ' αὖτε χέρσῳ (καὶ προσῆν πλέον στύγος,

by the division of the lines. οἱ λαχόντες is literally 'not having got' i.e. 'being without' as in Eur. *Andr.* 385 λαχούσα τ' ἀθλία καὶ μὴ λαχούσα δυστυχὴς καθίσταμαι *with what is offered I must be miserable and without it unhappy*. The use of the negative term where English would prefer a positive, as here that of *privation*, is characteristic of the language, e.g. Demosth. 19. 77 μὴ οὐν...ὧν ὑμᾶς οδοὺς ἐξῆπάτησε μὴ δότω δίκην, *Let him not escape punishment for the deceptions practised on you*, where both negatives are illustrated. The accusative τί οὐ (i.e. πᾶν) depends not upon στένοντες but upon οἱ λαχόντες. The order of the words is not irregular but correct, as in *P. V.* 601 τί ποτε ταῖσδ' ἐνέξευξας εὐρῶν ἀμαρτοῦσαν ἐν πημοναῖς; *Of what sin didst thou convict her (τί-ἀμαρτοῦσαν εὐρῶν) that thou hast reduced her to this misery?* Thus τί-οὐ στένοντες οὐ-λαχόντες stands for πάντων στενόντες ἀτυχήαντες *bewailing the privation of everything*. Of course a disciplined stylist could not have used so uncouth a form of words, but neither would he have spoken any one of the sentences very justly and artistically placed in this speech. Lastly in ἡματος μέρος the accusative is that of *duration of time* (like βίον in *v.* 1141, 'Ἴτυν στένονου' ἀμφιβαλὴ κακοῖς ἀηδῶν βίον, where by a coincidence we have the same verb) and the genitive ἡματος is not partitive but the adjectival genitive 'of equivalent'. A similar genitive is joined with μοῖρα, the poetic synonym of μέρος, in Eur. *Med.* 430 ἀμετέραν ἀνδρῶν τε μοῖραν 'our (i.e. the female) division [of mankind] and the male', where see note. So ἡματος μέρος is 'the diurnal portion' of time (*vv.* 556, 559), and is contrasted with νυκτὸς μέρος 'the nocturnal portion', implied but not expressed in what precedes, exactly as τὰ δ' αὖτε χέρσῳ is contrasted with the unexpressed τὰ μὲν

ἐν ναυσίν. It must be noted that to construct ἡματος μέρος with τί οὐ (in the sense πᾶν μέρος ἡμέρας *all the day long*), which is so tempting to our habits, that more than anything else it has made this passage difficult, could not, I believe, have occurred to a Greek mind as conceivable. The word μέρος is not so used.—There remains the deferred question as to the nominative case in the participles. This is all-important, because if στένοντες...λαχόντες will not pass, we cannot be satisfied with any of the expedients which introduce accusatives. No reason can be given for the supposed corruption. The English editors mostly retain the nominatives, Paley adding boldly and truly that they are "used without regard to any regular construction". They mark the point at which, for a legitimate purpose, artistic speech follows real speech and simply defies grammatical analysis. It is in short an extreme case of construction 'according to the sense'. The soldiers, as subject of the sufferings, are thought in the nominative, if we may so express it, throughout: the whole catalogue, if reduced to symmetry, could naturally be turned so as to have ἡμεῖς for the general subject, thus: εἰ λέγοιμι ὅσα ἐμοχθοῦμεν ἐν τε ταῖς ναυσίν αὐλιζόμενοι, στρώματα ἔχοντες οὐχ ἱκανά, ἐπὶ τε τῇ γῇ ἔτι δεινότερα, ὡς πρὸς τῇ πόλει στρατοπεδεύομενοι, κτλ. Therefore, in the one place in which the soldiers are mentioned at all (for it will be observed that they are not otherwise mentioned in this period except by implication), the appropriate nominative is put in simply κατὰ σύνεσιν, and we have a specimen, perhaps unique, of Greek as it was actually talked.

563. τὰ δ' αὖτε χέρσῳ: supply εἰ λέγοιμι: see foregoing note.—καὶ προσῆν...τείχεσιν: a parenthesis, such as in a more regular style would be expressed

εὐναὶ γὰρ ἦσαν δηίων πρὸς τείχεσιν),
 ἐξ οὐρανοῦ γὰρ κάπὸ γῆς λειμώνναι
 δρόσοι κατεψέκαζον, ἔμπεδον σίνος
 ἐσθημάτων, τιθέντες ἔνθηρον τρίχα,

565

by a relative clause, 'where there was the additional distress of constant danger from the neighbouring enemy'.—**δηίων**: Dindorf writes *δαίος* here as always.

565. **ἐξ οὐρανοῦ γὰρ κτλ.** We should not change γὰρ to δέ (Pearson): the explanation of τὰ χέρσῳ, the miseries on land, proceeds in a fresh parenthesis, which takes no account of the foregoing.

565—567. Another clause radically inaccurate in logic and grammar, though perfectly intelligible. The salient defect, the masculine *τιθέντες* following the feminine *δρόσοι*, which has received disproportionate attention, is only one sign of a confusion running through the whole. Nothing short of re-writing it would produce clear thought and regular expression. The remark of Schneidewin on *τιθέντες*, that it relates in the speaker's mind to *ὕμβροι* (*rain*), is true, but only part of the truth: *ἐξ οὐρανοῦ* relates to this same *ὕμβροι*, and so does *κατεψέκαζον* (*drizzled down*), and so in fact does the whole sentence, except the words *κάπὸ γῆς λειμώνναι δρόσοι*. The rain is from first to last the subject in the mind, and the sentence would have run regularly thus, *ἐξ οὐρανοῦ γὰρ ὕμβροι κατεψέκαζον κτλ.* But the words *ἐξ οὐρανοῦ* suggest by antithesis 'the dew from the earth', which is thereupon thrust in interjectionally; and after this, the subject *ὕμβροι* being by the antithesis sufficiently given to thought, the sentence proceeds without it, literally thus, 'from the sky (and off the earth marsh-dew too) it drizzled down' etc. In such a fashion *mutatis mutandis* men frequently speak in every language, but do not generally write.

566. **ἔμπεδον σίνος ἐσθημάτων.** The rotting of the dress from constant wetting

is mentioned not so much for itself, as for the horrible diseases to which it leads and which are specified more particularly in the next words. **τιθέντες ἔνθηρον τρίχα** *putting evil life into the hair*, or in plain words 'breeding vermin'. As in Soph. *Phil.* 698 (*ἐνθηρος ποὺς envenomed foot*) *ἐνθηρος* is a poetic equivalent for the medical term *τεθριωμένος* (see L. and Sc. s. *vv.*), so here it represents the same term in another sense (see L. and Sc. s. *vv.* *θηρίω, ζώω*). The analogy of the passage from Sophocles is exact, for Aeschylus doubtless shared the belief, universal till not very remote times, that hair had a peculiar independent life, and that worms and other creatures were actually made from it. The *θρῆξ* is the hair of the whole body, not merely of the head and face.—The old interpretation of *ἐνθηρος*, 'shaggy, beast-like', is in the first place not a possible meaning, since it takes no account of the formation, and, if it were possible, would be here out of place. The man is speaking of real, not fanciful, miseries. As to the dignity of tragedy, Aeschylus treats it on proper occasions with perfect indifference, and lets his soldier describe the torments of the camp, as his nurse the plagues of the nursery (*Cho.* 753), for what they are, without attempting to conceal what it is his very purpose to express.—In Wecklein's recent edition the whole of this passage 560—567 is re-cast; he writes e.g. in 561—*2 τί που στένοντες ἂν λήγοιμεν ἡμαρτος μέρος*; And nothing short of such treatment is of any use, if we will have the ordinary logic and syntax of literary language. All the less courageous attempts are ineffective. I believe however that Aeschylus wrote the whole as it is, and was justified in so writing it.

χειμῶνα δ' εἰ λέγοι τις οἶωνοκτόνον,
οἶον παρῆχ' ἄφερτον Ἰδαία χιῶν,
ἥ θάλπος, εὔτε πόντος ἐν μεσημβριναῖς 570
κοίταις ἀκύμων νηέμοις εὔδοι πεσών,—
τί ταῦτα πενθεῖν δεῖ; παροίχεται πόνος·
παροίχεται δὲ τοῖσι μὲν τεθνηκόσιν
τὸ μήποτ' αὔθις μηδ' ἀναστήναι μέλειν
(τί τοὺς ἀναλωθέντας ἐν ψήφῳ λέγειν 575
τὸν ζῶντα δ' ἀλγεῖν χρὴ τύχης παλιγκότου;
καὶ πολλὰ χαίρειν συμφοραῖς καταξιῶ).

568—572. See above on *v.* 560.

572. The abruptness of these exclamations is aided by the irregularity of rhythm, the punctuation acting against the caesura.

573. *τοῖσι μὲν*: to this irregularly answers *ἡμῖν δὲ...νικᾷ τὸ κέρδος* 578, which should regularly have been *παροίχεται δ' ἡμῖν ὥστε νικᾶν τὸ κέρδος*. The trouble is over for all, for the dead completely, for the living, in that they can balance against it their triumph.

574. *τὸ...μέλειν* so that they care, or in the sense that they care, grammatically an 'accusative in opposition to the verbal action' of *παροίχεται*. That 'they care not' and that 'the trouble is over' are two aspects of the same fact.

575—577. Another parenthesis. The dead have their gain, and perhaps an advantage over the living.—*Why should we count up the number of the slain, when the living suffer the persistence of fortune's cruelty?* Much difficulty has been made here by taking the two clauses as independent, whereas they are closely correlative and make up one conception between them. A prose writer would have used *μὲν* in the first clause, but in poetry it is often omitted. (See on *v.* 360.) In English we must indicate the relation by making one clause principal and the other dependent. Usually it is the clause with *μὲν* which answers best to our dependent clause, but it may be, as

here, the clause with *δέ*. The point is that the inevitable suffering of the living is inconsistent with the lamenting of the dead or, as it is put, with the counting of the number of them: and the question *τί χρὴ*; protests against the unreasonableness of the two things taken together. *τύχης παλιγκότου* literally 'from fortune being persistently cruel', gen. absolute. *παλιγκότου* has its full signification (see *L.* and *Sc. s. v.*). Fortune is the harassing disease from which we escape by death. It is a generalization of the same idea which appears in Herodotus 4. 156 *αὐτῷ τε τοῦτ' καὶ τοῖσι ἄλλοισι συνεφέρετο παλιγκότως* 'things went persistently ill.'—If the clauses be separated, then the second question (*τί χρὴ τὸν ζῶντα ἀλγεῖν κτλ.*), taken as independent, is out of place (for we turn to the living, *οἱ λοιποί*, at *v.* 578) and not significant in itself. The living *ἀλγεῖ*, because such is the law of fate; the question is why, this being so, we should ask 'how many are dead?' and not rather 'how many are living to feel?'

577. *To have done with chance is itself, methinks, right acceptable.* *πολλὰ χαίρειν συμφοραῖς*, literally 'to receive the dismissal of chance', *πολλὰ χαίρειν* being the passive correlative to the formula of dismissal *πολλὰ χαίρε*: cf. *Soph. O. T.* 596 *νῦν πᾶσι χαίρω νῶν* *all wish me joy*. What is said there by Prof. Jebb, that "the phrase has been suggested

ἡμῖν δὲ τοῖς λοιποῖσιν Ἀργείων στρατοῦ
νικᾷ τὸ κέρδος, πῆμα δ' οὐκ ἀντιρρέπει
ὥς κομπάσαι τῷδ' εἰκὸς ἡλίου φάει
ὑπὲρ θαλάσσης καὶ χθονὸς ποτωμένοις,

580

by χαῖρέ μοι, but refers rather to the meaning than to the form of the greeting", is true here also; 'to be dismissed to *happi-ness*' is the meaning in full.—καταξιῶ, *I hold acceptable*, like ἀξιῶ *I do not refuse* (Soph. O. T. 944) only stronger. It is the opposite of ἀπαξιῶ *I reject*. See Theb. 654.—καί also belongs closely to πολλὰ: those who live are happy in one way, χαίρουσι συμφοραῖς in one sense, but the dead, who πολλὰ χαίρουσι, are happy too.—The key to this verse is the proper construction of συμφοραῖς. The interpretation 'I bid fortune begone' is possible only if we read, with Blomfield, συμφορὰς, and even then would be very odd; for since χαίρειν κελεύω means properly 'I bid thee be happy' to substitute χαίρειν καταξιῶ, 'I require thee to be happy', is not a natural variation. Nor does the supposed sense fit the place so well as the MS. text.

578. The connexion of thought is this 'And we that remain, though we have suffered more and longer than the dead and have not received their complete discharge, may still rejoice on the whole, when we consider the everlasting and world-wide glory which redounds to our city'.

580—581. These lines are difficult and, if complete, must have been explained by something conventional in the connotation of the language. I give here the interpretation which seems best, and a discussion of the details separately (Appendix N).—'For yon bright sun may justly wing our renown the wide world over, proclaiming in our honour that Troy long ago was taken by an Argive armament, and these are the spoils which to the glory of the gods throughout Hellas they nailed upon the temples for a monu-

mental pride. Hearing this, men must needs praise Argos and them that led her host; and the grace of Zeus which wrought it all shall be paid with thanks. And so I have said my say'.—ὥς causal, *since, considering how*, as in Theb. 351 δμῶδες δὲ καινοπήμονες, ὥς ἐλπίς ἔς τι νύκτερον τέλος μολεῖν.—κομπάσαι, as the style and honours of a person might be announced before him: the word is almost technical in this sense, and the figure suits the personage of the κῆρυξ. τῷδε: for the dative with εἰκὸς, which is rare, cf. Eur. Suppl. 40 πάντα γὰρ δι' ἀρσένων γυναιξὶ πράσσειν εἰκός.—ποτωμένοις agrees with the dative ἡμῖν supplied from v. 578 and constructed here, as there, as a dative of 'the person interested' (cf. θεοῖς below), literally 'may proclaim for us flying'. For the metaphor and language cf. Pind. Nem. 6. 50 πέταται δ' ἐπὶ τε χθόνα καὶ διὰ θαλάσσης τηλόθεν ὄνυμ' αὐτῶν. It was perhaps a familiar form of speech for 'world-wide renown'. Here by a bolder figure the subject of the fame is said to 'fly abroad' as the fame is spread, a stretch of language which again may be illustrated from Pindar Isthm. 3. 28 ἀνορέαις δ' ἐσχάταισιν οἴκοθεν στάλαισιν ἄπτονθ' Ἑρακλείαις 'by their high feats of valour they have reached from home to the ends of the world', i.e. their renown has gone so far (and Theognis 237 σοὶ μὲν ἐγὼ πτέρ' ἔδωκα σὺν οἷς ἐπ' ἀπείρονα πόντον πωτήση καὶ γῆν Wecklein).—Τρόην κτλ. According to Greek habit offerings from the spoil would be dedicated in all important places of religion, and would be marked or accompanied by brief inscriptions, of which the sense is here paraphrased, naming the dedication and the occasion. These, as the poet finely expresses it, the sun would pro-

“Τροίην ἐλόντες δήποτ’ Ἀργείων στόλος
θεοὶς λάφυρα ταῦτα τοῖς καθ’ Ἑλλάδα
δόμοις ἐπασσάλευσαν ἀρχαῖον γάνος.”
τοιαῦτα χρή κλύοντας εὐλογεῖν πόλιν
καὶ τοὺς στρατηγούς· καὶ χάρις τιμῆσεται
Διὸς τὰδ’ ἐκπράξασα. πάντ’ ἔχεις λόγον.

585

ΧΟ. νικώμενος λόγοισιν οὐκ ἀναίνομαι.
ἀεὶ γὰρ ἡβῶ τοῖς γέρουσιν εὖ μαθεῖν.
δόμοις δὲ ταῦτα καὶ Κλυταιμῆστρα μέλειν
εἰκὸς μάλιστα, σὺν δὲ πλουτίζειν ἐμέ.

590

ΚΛ. ἀνωλόλυξα μὲν πάλαι χαρᾶς ὑπο,

590. Κλυταιμῆστρα.

claim, meaning in prose that they would be read with each returning day, as those on the temples of Argos are now legible in the light of this present morning. Thus the name of Argos will ‘fly over land and sea’ to the end of time.—Τροίην: the archaic (Ionic) form is used as, for Athenian ears, naturally suggesting the language of an ancient inscription. See on *Theb.* 259, 447, 519, 590. The change to *Troian* is mistaken.—*δήποτε* (*aliquando*) may mean either ‘at last’ or ‘formerly’ as Paley says. The last seems the better.—*ἀρχαῖον γάνος* literally ‘an ancient pride’; the praise is significantly worded as it will be spoken a long time hereafter.—*πόλιν...στρατηγούς...Διὸς*. The unselfish simplicity of the man’s patriotism, loyalty, and religion is powerfully marked.—*πάντ’ ἔχεις λόγον* a formula of conclusion, indicating here that the thesis *εὖ πέπρακται* (v. 556) is to the speaker’s mind made out. The elders assent.—See further Appendix N.

588. *νικώμενος λόγοισιν*. The eloquent proof of the herald that ‘all is well’ has of course not really touched τὸ δὺσφρον (v. 552), which he does not understand; but this is not the moment to explain, as Clytaemnestra is seen approaching.—The context requires us to refer *νικώμενος λόγοισιν* to the argument

of the herald, not to the proof of the victory, though this may also be in the speaker’s mind.

589: in prose paraphrase ‘the capacity for learning is not one of the faculties which is lost with age’. *εὖ μαθεῖν docility* (cf. *εὐμαθής*) is the subject of *ἡβῶ*.—*τοῖς γέρουσιν* *for*, as we should say *in, the old*. Note that the article is indispensable; with *γέρουσιν* alone we should be bound to supply *ἡμῖν*.—*ἦβη* (*ἔστι*) *τοῖς γέρουσιν*. (Margoliouth) is undoubtedly simpler, but I agree with Mr Sidgwick that the text is right.

591. *σὺν δὲ πλουτίζειν ἐμέ* *and my gain should be shared with them*, literally ‘and it (the tale, *ταῦτα*) ought (*εἰκὸς*) to enrich me *with them* (and not alone)’. Note carefully the emphasis given to *σὺν* by its position in the sentence and by the rhythm; with this emphasis the clause is equivalent to *πλουτίζειν μὴ μόνον ἐμέ*.—There is a certain irony in this language. Not knowing the situation, the elders suppose that the herald’s news, if welcome to the queen, cannot be altogether welcome.

592. On the situation here, and on the queen’s language, see the Introduction.—*ἀνωλόλυξα μὲν*. The antithesis to this does not follow regularly but is substantially given in *καὶ νῦν* v. 603. The

ὅτ' ἦλθ' ὁ πρῶτος νύχιος ἄγγελος πυρός,
 φράζων ἄλωσιν Ἴλίου τ' ἀνάστασιν.
 καὶ τίς μ' ἐνίπτων εἶπε· “φρυκτωρῶν δία
 πεισθείσα Τροίαν νῦν πεπορθῆσθαι δοκεῖς;
 ἦ κάρτα πρὸς γυναικὸς αἰρεσθαι κέαρ.”
 λόγοις τοιούτοις πλαγκτὸς οὐς' ἐφαίνόμεν.
 ὅμως δ' ἔθουν· καὶ γυναικείῳ νόμῳ
 ὀλολυγμὸν ἄλλος ἄλλοθεν κατὰ πτόλιν
 ἔλασκον εὐφημοῦντες ἐν θεῶν ἔδραις

595

600

595. ἐνίπτων.

point is that for her this is not the moment either for the exultation of surprise (592—602) nor for further enquiry (603).

594. Ἴλίου τ' ἀνάστασιν. Observe that this phrase, thrown in as it were carelessly, utterly changes the character of the supposed beacon-message. As it was represented to the elders above, it reported the ‘taking’ but did not and could not possibly, under the supposed circumstances, report the ‘destruction’ of Ilium, which had not occurred and, if Clytaemnestra spoke honestly in *vv.* 353—54, was not to be expected or desired. But it is of vital moment that the herald should not catch a glimpse of the supposed ‘beacon-system’. Nor can he from what the queen here says, simple and frank though it seems to be. It suggests no more than what of course he must already suppose, that the beacon had signalled the arrival of himself and his companions, and this is in fact the truth. On the other hand the fact that the queen refers to the beacon is enough to convey to the elders that, however strange the whole affair may be, there is no trick in it.

595. *τις*: *i.e.* the elders in *vv.* 481 foll., whose language she quotes almost *verbatim*, though she was not then present. This however and the arrival of the herald have been reported to her from time to time by those in her interest, as

on the stage would be manifest. Plainly the queen dare not at this crisis lose sight of the elders for a moment; nor is she unwilling to give them, as she here does, a hint that her eye is upon them. The hint is not lost, for when she retires their language (*v.* 620) is more guarded and unintelligible than ever.—See further the Introduction.

598. ἐφαίνόμεν: ‘they tried to prove me deluded’ is the signification of the tense.

599. ἔθουν: first person, as the preceding context shows.

600. ἄλλος ἄλλοθεν: masculine (although the ὀλολυγμός or sacrificial cry was actually uttered by women, as the text declares), because they uttered it on behalf of the sacrificing citizens (or as it is otherwise put ‘the citizens uttered it by the female ritual’), and it is the behaviour of the city, not of the women in particular, which is in view. Cf. *Theb.* 253 ἐμῶν ἀκούσας εὐγμάτων ἔπειτα σὺ (the maidens of the chorus) ὀλολυγμὸν... παϊάνισον.—“Perhaps she is keeping up her satire, ‘like women, as you would say, the whole city joined in the cry’” (Sidgwick). Certainly, I think, there is an intended connexion between γυναικός and γυναικείῳ νόμῳ. ‘The city’, she says, ‘took the cue from me’.—γυναικεῖοι νόμοι (Wecklein) gives a simple construction but a doubtful personification.—νόμῳ. Cf. νόμισμα *Theb.* *l.c.*

θυηφάγον κοιμῶντες εὐώδη φλόγα.
 καὶ νῦν τὰ μᾶσσω μὲν τί δεῖ σ' ἐμοὶ λέγειν;
 ἄνακτος αὐτοῦ πάντα πεύσομαι λόγον.
 ὅπως δ' ἄριστα τὸν ἐμὸν αἰδοῖον πόσιν
 σπεύσω πάλιν μολόντα δέξασθαι (τί γὰρ
 γυναικὶ τούτου φέγγος ἥδιον δρακεῖν,
 ἀπὸ στρατείας ἄνδρα σώσαντος θεοῦ
 πύλας ἀνοῖξαι;), ταῦτ' ἀπάγγειλον πόσει·
 ἦκειν ὅπως τάχιστ' ἐράσμιον πόλει,
 γυναιῖκα πιστὴν δ' ἐν δόμοις εὖροι μολῶν,
 οἶανπερ οὖν ἔλειπε, δωμάτων κύνα
 ἐσθλὴν ἐκείνῳ, πολεμίαν τοῖς δύσφροσιν,
 καὶ τᾶλλ' ὁμοίαν πάντα, σημαντήριον

605

610

601. ἐνθέων.

602. *κοιμῶντες* *quieting*, i.e. piling the incense upon it so that it burned unseen within the heap, instead of blazing. The language rests upon a comparison, touched in the poet's brief picturesque manner, between the flame and a creature crying for food till it is stilled.

603. *τὰ μᾶσσω* *the fuller story*.—*σ' ἐμοί*. *σέ μοι* (Wieseler). But both pronouns are emphatic.

605. *ὅπως...δέξασθαι* *that I may bring my revered spouse with swift return unto my loving reception*, literally 'that I may hasten the kind receiving of him returned'. As often in the Greek poets (cf. *v.* 487, *v.* 611 and *v.* 970) the Greek puts what is principal in the sentence into the participle *μολόντα*, not the verb *δέξασθαι*.—*ἄριστα* *with all kindness*, the superlative of *εὖ kindly*, belongs to *δέξασθαι*: cf. *Supp.* 225 *εἰ τ' ἔπεμψεν εἰς τε δεξάσσω*.—The exact relation of *μολόντα* *δέξασθαι* here is of some importance; for if we render, as modern habits of expression suggest, by 'that I may hasten to welcome him', this clause no longer fits the sequel, *ταῦτ' ἀπάγγειλον πόσει· ἦκειν ὅπως τάχιστα*. Hence the punctuation of Hermann and others (*ὅπως...δέξασθαι*. *τί γὰρ...ἀνοῖξαι; ταῦτ' ἀπάγγειλον*), which,

as Mr Sidgwick objects, makes *ταῦτ' ἀπάγγειλον* very abrupt.

610—611. *ἦκειν...εὖροι*: the construction varies from the oblique to the direct. —*ἐράσμιον πόλει...γυναιῖκα πιστὴν δέ*: these are antithetical in meaning though not exactly in form. 'Let him come swiftly to find his people loving and his wife faithful' is the sense. It is this antithetic emphasis on *πιστὴν* which justifies the position of *δέ*.—*εὖροι μολῶν*: 'let him come to find', we should say in English: see on *v.* 605.—*πιστὴν...οἶανπερ οὖν ἔλειπε*: 'faithful to him as he left her' is the sense to the ear, 'faithful to the revenge which she has meditated ever since' the sense to Clytaemnestra's thought. The ambiguity runs all through the following lines, *ἐκείνῳ, τοῖς δύσφροσιν* etc.

614. *σημαντήριον οὐδὲν διαφθείρασαν* *having never broke seal at all in this long while*, i.e. 'having guarded his property and honour', or to herself 'still keeping my resolution, as it were a covenant'. For the association of the word *διαφθείρω* with this secondary sense see *v.* 923.—Note that *σημαντήριον* is properly an adjectival form, meaning 'anything in the nature of a seal (*σημαν-*

οὐδὲν διαφθείρασαν ἐν μήκει χρόνου.
οὐδ' οἶδα τέρψιν οὐδ' ἐπίψογον φάτιν
ἄλλου πρὸς ἀνδρὸς μᾶλλον ἢ χαλκοῦ βαφάς.

ΧΟ.Β'. τοιόσδ' ὁ κόμπος, τῆς ἀληθείας γέμων,
οὐκ αἰσχρὸς ὡς γυναικὶ γενναίᾳ λακεῖν.

τήρ). There is no proof that it was used for a seal, as a common word, nor from this passage is it likely. The expression is metaphorical, like ἐσθλὴν κύνα, and the vague form is employed on purpose to avoid any particular reference to literal 'seals'. In the absence of the master some things might naturally be sealed up (Paley cites Eur. *Orest.* 1108), and naturally also the house would be guarded by dogs: hence the metaphors: but it is not of these things Clytaemnestra is thinking or speaking: σφραγιῶσα τῆς πρὸς τὸν ἀνδρα εὐνῆς says the schol. correctly.—Still fearing not to be understood she speaks more clearly.

616. These declarations, which are full of suspicion and peril, are still forced upon the queen by the necessity of the situation. It is an obvious fear that the king may know too much, or before he reaches the fortress may learn too much, for Clytaemnestra's purpose. She thinks it safer therefore to accept the position of one accused and to take the line of defying slander, in the hope that this may be sufficient for the necessary moment.

616—617. τέρψιν...ἀνδρὸς I know of pleasure or of scandalous address from any other man no more than etc. For φάτις in the sense of speech or converse see Soph. *Phil.* 1045 βαρεῖαν φάτιν τήνδ' εἶπε, *id.* *El.* 329, 1213 (L. and Sc. s.v.). She is so far from sin that she has let no man speak to her unbecomingly. That φάτις here has this exceptional meaning (and not that of rumour) is shown by the arrangement of the sentence. It must be parallel to τέρψιν, and both words must be related in the same way to ἄλλου πρὸς ἀνδρὸς.—ἐπίψογον 'liable to reproach', cf. ἐπιμομφος, ἐπικίνδυνος.—If φάτις be

taken here, as it commonly is, in the sense of rumour, report, i.e. the scandalous charge itself, the sentence is ill-shaped, for ἐπίψογος φάτις πρὸς ἄλλον (with this sense of φάτις) would naturally mean 'scandal uttered by another' (see v. 636); and even with the rather dubious translation 'scandal arising from' i.e. 'connected with another', the words τέρψιν and φάτιν are still not in the same line, so to speak, as they should be for the purpose of the climax. To attach πρὸς ἄλλου to τέρψιν only and not to φάτιν is possible but not satisfactory. The hint given to the ear by the parallelism of τέρψιν οὐδὲ...φάτιν would sufficiently explain and justify an exceptional use of the word.

617. χαλκοῦ βαφάς dipping, i.e. dyeing, of bronze, an unknown mystery. The suggestion of Blomfield that the expression referred to some artistic secret is very reasonable, but it is almost useless to speculate on the origin of a proverb. Others suppose it to mean merely 'an impossibility'. The sinister suggestiveness which it takes from metaphors such as ἐβαψας ἔγχος θοῦ hast dyed thy sword Soph. *Ant.* 95, γυνὴ ἐν σφαγαίσι βάψασα ξίφος P. V. 889 has probably influenced the poet (Wellauer) but must not be pressed. After all, the analogy is not very close. Between ξίφος and χαλκός there is for this purpose a wide difference.—Here Clytaemnestra, having so far as possible secured the silence of the elders and the prompt departure of the herald, returns as if to make her preparations.

618—621. Here again is a passage defying arrangement or explanation with the received list of *dramatis personae*.

ΧΟ. αὕτη μὲν οὕτως εἶπε μανθάνοντί σοι
τοροῖσιν ἑρμηνεύσιν εὐπρεπῶς λόγον.
σὺ δ' εἶπέ, κῆρυξ—Μενέλεων δὲ πεύθομαι—
εἰ νόστιμός γε καὶ σεσφωσμένος πάλιν
ἥξει σὺν ὑμῖν, τῆσδε γῆς φίλον κράτος.

620

ΚΗ. οὐκ ἔσθ' ὅπως λέξαιμι τὰ ψευδῆ καλὰ

625

The MS. gives *vv.* 618—19 to the herald, Hermann followed by most modern texts transfers them to Clytaemnestra. Which ever be adopted (and both are sufficiently unsatisfactory), it is impossible to give any sense to *ἑρμηνεύσιν* in *v.* 621. Where are the *commentators* on the queen's address to whom the elders refer? No answer so much as plausible has been suggested to this question, and emendation (*e.g.* *λόγων* for *λόγον*) is as little successful. Manifestly the *ἑρμηνεῖς* are the speakers of *vv.* 618—19, who eke out the queen's suspicious exculpation with an approving comment which it very much needs. In fact the Second Chorus, supporting their spokesman, here act a part precisely similar to that in *vv.* 363 foll. They play to the character which the queen assumes. The elders content themselves with the guarded remark that with this clear and favourable interpretation the herald no doubt comprehends what has been said.—*Self-praise like this, filled full with its truth, doth not misbeseem a noble lady's lips. τοιόσδε* emphatic, and equivalent to *τοιόσδ' ὦν*, 'when it is the natural overflow of genuine feeling'. Self-praise is unseemly in itself; that a wife should praise herself in the language of Clytaemnestra is discreditable in itself; but as she did so (evidently) only under the overpowering desire to assure the king of her devotion, it is not unseemly or discreditable in her.—*ἑρμηνεύσιν*: the dative is placed so as to serve both *μανθάνοντι* (as an instrumental) and *εὐπρεπῶς* (as dative of relation); it is *by the help* of the interpreters that the address is to be understood and *to their opinion* that it looks well.

622. σὺ δ' εἶπέ, κῆρυξ. They try to detain him, as he turns to go. He is naturally unwilling to be questioned further, having the queen's message to deliver and only bad news to tell. Seeing this, they add hastily 'I would know about *Menelaus*', and then still more pressingly 'just (*γε*) whether he is with you'.—*τε* (for *γε*) Hermann: but *γε* is wanted and this is no place for *τε... καί*.

625. 'I could not tell false tidings to seem fair', *καλὰ* being predicative.—*ὅπως λέξαιμι* is the remote deliberative optative. This optative, which Mr Sidgwick seems to have been the first to explain correctly, is a variation, not from the optative with *ἄν*, but from the deliberative subjunctive. It is found, like the subjunctive, in interrogative sentences both direct, as Ar. *Plut.* 438 *ποῖ τις φύγοι*; and indirect, as this and Eur. *Alc.* 52 *ἔστ' οὖν ὅπως Ἀλκιστὺς εἰς γῆρας μῆλοι*; "The difficulty is, not why *ἄν* is omitted, for the sentences are not conditional, but why the *remote* form (optative) is used instead of the primary form (subjunctive) when the sentences are all of a *primary* character. The answer is that the optative expresses the remoteness, not as usual of *pastness*, but of possibility: the instinct is to express by the optative something *more out of the question* than the subjunctive would have expressed. Thus in Ar. *Plut.* 438 *ποῖ φύγη* would be in ordinary circumstances the expression:...but *φύγοι*, the MS. reading,...is the exclamation of supreme terror, treating escape as in the last degree unlikely".

ἐς τὸν πολλὸν φίλοισι καρποῦσθαι χρόνον.

ΧΟ. πῶς δῆτ' ἂν εἰπὼν κεδνὰ τάληθῇ τύχοις;
σχισθέντα δ' οὐκ εὐκρυπτα γίγνεται τάδε.

ΚΗ. ἀνὴρ ἄφαντος ἐξ Ἀχαικοῦ στρατοῦ,
αὐτός τε καὶ τὸ πλοῖον. οὐ ψευδῇ λέγω. 630

ΧΟ. πότερον ἀναχθεῖς ἐμφανῶς ἐξ Ἴλιου,
ἢ χεῖμα, κοινὸν ἄχθος, ἤρπασε στρατοῦ;

ΚΗ. ἔκυσας ὥστε τοξότης ἄκρος σκοποῦ·
μακρὸν δὲ πῆμα συντόμως ἐφημίσω.

ΧΟ. πότερα γὰρ αὐτοῦ ζώντος ἢ τεθνηκότος
φάτις πρὸς ἄλλων ναυτῶν ἐκλήζετο; 635

ΚΗ. οὐκ οἶδεν οὐδεὶς ὥστ' ἀπαγγεῖλαι τορῶς,
πλὴν τοῦ τρέφοντος Ἡλίου χθονὸς φύσιν.

ΧΟ. πῶς γὰρ λέγεις χειμῶνα ναυτικῷ στρατῷ
ἐλθεῖν τελευτήσαί τε δαιμόνων κότῳ; 640

ΚΗ. εὐφημον ἡμᾶρ οὐ πρέπει κακαγγέλῳ
γλώσση μιαίνειν· χωρὶς ἢ τιμῇ θεῶν.
ὅταν δ' ἀπευκτὰ πῆματ' ἄγγελος πόλει

627. τύχης.

629. ἀνὴρ.

626. καρποῦσθαι, literally 'so as for them to enjoy it'. He would spare them pain, if the truth could be long concealed.

627. τύχοις Porson. 'Would that thou couldst speak rightly truth to seem good!', *i.e.* 'would that thy news could be both pleasing and true!' The form of expression is not in itself natural but imitates (Klausen, Kennedy) that of the herald's speech preceding. ἂν εἰπὼν τύχοις properly 'be right in speaking'. It differs from ἂν εἴποις only in that τύχοις repeats the meaning of τάληθῇ.

629. ἀνὴρ Hermann.

631. ἐμφανῶς *visibly*, *i.e.* so that it was known when he went, as contrasted with the *unperceived* disappearance in a storm.

635. αὐτοῦ Menelaus himself, as opposed to the ἄλλοι. They suppose that something may have been heard of Menelaus' ship, and ask, loyally as

before, what was the latest news of *the prince*.

638. φύσιν in the full sense of the word (ὅτι φύεται) 'all that groweth on earth', *i.e.* all life.

640. δαιμόνων κότῳ. They instinctively refer the storm to angry gods, those of Troy presumably; see *v.* 350.

642. χωρὶς ἢ τιμῇ θεῶν *the functions belong to different gods*, literally 'the religious function (τιμῇ θεῶν) is distinct in the two cases', the one belonging to the gods of joy and triumph and to the gods friendly in the particular case, the other to the gods of darkness and punishment (such as Ares, *v.* 647) and to the gods adverse in the particular case.—The rendering 'the worship of the gods is to be kept distinct from bad news' is not quite accurate, not satisfying the article. Both functions are *τιμαὶ θεῶν* but of different *θεοί* and not to be confounded.

στυνγνῶ προσώπῳ πτωσίμου στρατοῦ φέρη,
 πόλει μὲν ἔλκος ἐν τὸ δῆμιον τυχεῖν, 645
 πολλοὺς δὲ πολλῶν ἐξαγισθέντας δόμων
 ἄνδρας διπλῇ μάστιγι, τὴν Ἄρης φιλεῖ,
 δίλογχον ἄτην, φοινίαν ξυνωρίδα,
 τοιῶνδε μὲν τοι πημάτων σεσαγμένον
 πρέπει λέγειν παιᾶνα τόνδ' Ἐρινύων. 650

649. σεσαγμένον.

645. ἔλκος...πολλοὺς accusatives in apposition to πῆματα.—πόλει...τὸ δῆμιον: the regular antithesis *ἰδίᾳ τὸ καθ' ἕκαστον* is left to be supplied in the elliptic manner characteristic of the herald's style (see on *v.* 560 foll.).—ἔλκος... τυχεῖν *a blow to be met or to sustain*.—πολλοὺς...ἐξαγισθέντας 'the taking of many a victim'; for the participial construction see *Theb.* 611 *γυμνωθέν δόρυ* and note there.

647. ἄνδρας 'men' with emphasis, *i.e.* men singly as opposed to πόλις. Cf. the opposition of ἄνδρες...ἀνὴρ in *Theb.* 584—599, and *supra v.* 535.

ἰβ. διπλῇ μάστιγι 'two-pointed prong': see on *Theb.* 595 (and Dr Leaf on *Hom. II.* 23. 387). The epithet *δίλογχος* here shows what the context shows still more clearly there, that μάστιξ is in neither place a whip. There it is a prong used for the killing of fish or game taken in a net. Here the expression *ἐξαγισθέντας* (*taken out as consecrated offerings*) μάστιγι suggests rather the use of a similar instrument for taking from a victim or sacrifice the parts reserved for the gods or persons privileged, such an instrument as is mentioned in *Samuel i.* 2. 13 'when any man offered sacrifice, the priest's servant came while the flesh was in seething with a *fleshhook* of three teeth in his hand; and he struck it into the pot; all that the fleshhook brought up the priest took for himself'. There were many Greek rites in which special privileges were reserved to the adminis-

trators and others, and a usage of this kind may well have existed in some of them. The metaphor is the more likely here, as Ares is specially the 'man-eating' god (τούτῳ γὰρ Ἄρης βόσκεται, φόνῳ βροτῶν *Theb.* 230, and see *inf. v.* 1511) and was worshipped with human sacrifice down to recorded times. Cf. Porphyry *De Abstinencia* 22. 55 *ἐπεὶ καὶ Λακεδαιμονίους φησὶν ὁ Ἀπολλόδωρος τῷ Ἄρει θύειν ἄνθρωπον* (reference supplied by Mr H. B. Smith).

649. τοιῶνδε μὲν τοι *he indeed who* etc.; the sentence *ἔταν...φέρη* is resumed. In *μὲν τοι* the particles have each their distinct forces: *μὲν* answers to *δέ* in *v.* 651; *τοι* implies, as usual, an appeal to the general judgment.—*πημάτων* constructed with *σεσαγμένον* as signifying 'fulness'.—*σεσαγμένον* Schütz. *σεσαγμένων* 'heaped' or 'packed upon him' is possible, but the other better.

650. τόνδε, *i.e.* such an ἄγγελος: the resumptive pronoun (in prose commonly *οὗτος*) is often inserted when there is an antithesis to be marked: '*he*, the messenger of disaster, may naturally chant a triumph-song to the *Erinyes*', the agents of punishment, but the messenger of good owes his duty elsewhere. The emphatic pronoun is placed according to usage next to the word which is combined in emphasis with it.—If *τόνδε* be joined with *παιᾶνα* it is useless and not good Greek. It is worth notice that the caesura serves to separate *παιᾶνα* from *τόνδε*.

σωτηρίων δὲ πραγμάτων εὐάγγελον
 ἦκοντα πρὸς χαίρουσαν εὖεστοι πόλιν—
 πῶς κεδνὰ τοῖς κακοῖσι συμμίξω λέγων
 χειμῶν, Ἀχαιῶν οὐκ ἀμήνιτον θεοῖς;
 ξυνώμοσαν γάρ, ὄντες ἔχθιστοι τὸ πρίν,
 πῦρ καὶ θάλασσα, καὶ τὰ πῖστ' ἐδειξάτην
 φθείρουτε τὸν δύστηνον Ἀργείων στρατόν,
 ἐν νυκτί, δυσκύμαντα δ' ὠρώρει κακά.
 ναῦς γὰρ πρὸς ἀλλήλησι Θρήκiai πνοαὶ

655

653. He turns abruptly from the general case to himself as an instance of it.—*How can I mix good with that which is bad, with a tale of our disaster, which cannot but displease our nation's gods?*—*Ἀχαιῶν οὐκ ἀμήνιτον θεοῖς*, literally 'a thing not unprovoking to the gods of the Achaeans': the emphasis on *Ἀχαιῶν* ...*θεοῖς* being given by the position of the words. *οὐκ ἀμήνιτον* (neuter) is the so-called accusative in apposition to the verbal action (*τὸ τὸν χειμῶνα λέγειν*). *θεοῖς*: the dative of the person whose judgment or view is in question.—The present hour of triumph is properly devoted to the *gods of Argos*: to narrate now a disaster inflicted by powers hostile to Argos and to them (*v.* 640) is as it were to interrupt their service and risk their displeasure.—The MS. reading here should be kept and gives the sense required. Difficulty has arisen from the error of taking *ἀμήνιτον* as masculine. The reading of Dobree *Ἀχαιοῖς οὐκ ἀμήνιτον θεῶν*, commonly adopted, is not only a needless change, but itself, as I think, not grammatical. It is translated 'storm sent by wrathful gods upon the Achaeans' and the genitive *θεῶν* is explained as depending on the privative *ἀμήνιτον*, as in *v.* 323 *φάος οὐκ ἀπαππον Ἰδαίου πυρός*, or in *ἄσκειος ἀσπίδων, ἀλαμπές ἡλίου* etc. The extension of this genitive to such a case as *ἀμήνιτον θεῶν*, though rare, is possible, but the dative *Ἀχαιοῖς* would have hardly a construction at all.

655—657. On the symbolic meaning of these lines see Appendix O.

655. Imitated by Milton *Par. Reg.* iv. 412, 'Water with fire in ruin reconciled.' (Paley.)

656. *τὰ πῖστά* the pledge of that alliance.

658: *in darkness, which swelled the agony to its height*, literally 'in darkness, and terribly swollen was raised the distress'. The meaning is that night aggravated the situation; the ships could not then be kept clear of each other and soon became unmanageable. This verse is a fine illustration of the pregnant use of words so vital to poetry. *δυσκύμαντα* by its passive formation points at once to the transitive sense of *κυμαίνω*, which (see L. and Sc. *s.v.*) means properly *to make to swell*, from *κύμα*, originally *that which is pregnant*, then *anything swollen*, then specially *a wave*. This last and commonest sense of course remains in view; and all the meanings merge in a triple suggestion of *increase, labour, and tempest* which defies translation. Similarly *ἐν* is at once temporal, as usual, and instrumental or circumstantial, as often (see L. and Sc. *s.v.*), so that *ἐν νυκτί* combines the meanings of *in* and *by* darkness.

659. *ἀλλήλησι* cannot safely be changed to the common form. It is merely an archaism, like the relative article, and might well be commended to the ear by a sort of attraction to *Θρήκiai*, in which by convention the *η* was normally retained.

ἤρεικον· αἱ δὲ κεροτυπούμεναι βία
 χειμῶνι τυφῶ σὺν ζάλῃ τ' ὀμβροκτύπῳ
 ῥέχοντ' ἄφαντοι, ποιμένος κακοῦ στρόβω.
 ἐπεὶ δ' ἀνῆλθε λαμπρὸν ἡλίου φάος,
 ὁρῶμεν ἀνθοῦν πέλαγος Αἰγαίου νεκροῖς
 ἀνδρῶν Ἀχαιῶν ναυτικῶν τ' ἐρειπίων.
 ἡμᾶς γε μὲν δὴ ναῦν τ' ἀκήρατον σκάφος
 ἦτοι τις ἐξέκλεψεν ἢ ἔξητήσατο,
 θεὸς τις, οὐκ ἄνθρωπος, οἶακος θιγῶν.
 τύχη δὲ σωτὴρ ναῦν θέλουσ' ἐφέζετο,
 ὥς μὴτ' ἐν ἄρμῳ κύματος ζάλην ἔχειν

660

665

670

670. ὄρμω.

660. **κεροτυπούμεναι**: **ποιμένος**: the comparison is to a herd of cattle driven wild and scattered by a storm.

661: 'under the storm of the hurricane and by the beating rain of the surge'. **σὺν** instrumental. The line may be variously taken without difference, but this way (Sidgwick, Wecklein) is the simplest.—**ὄμβρος** *rain*; this word belongs rather to the metaphor of the herd than to the ships.

662. **ποιμένος στρόβω** *lashed round by their cruel driver*. **στρόβω**: a unique word, literally, it would seem, meaning *spin*: **στροβέω** is to *spin*. **ποιμένος**: the storm itself in a new metaphorical aspect.

664. **ἀνθοῦν**: a last glimpse of the metaphor from the herd; the sea is the plain or field which in the morning is seen to have broken out in flowers after the rain.

664—665. Literally 'we saw the Aegæan main corpse-beflowered with Achaean men and wreckage of the ships'. The genitives **ἀνδρῶν ἐρειπίων τε**, as well as the dative **νεκροῖς**, are constructed with **ἀνθοῦν**, to which they are related as to a verb of fulness (cf. **βρύω** and see L. and Sc. *s.v.* **ἀνθέω**). But **νεκροῖς** is joined to the verb more closely, as the rhythm shows, in the manner which we might indicate by a compound. It is the intention of the poet, I think, to suggest in

a vague poetical way that both men and ships were 'dead'.—**ναυτικοῖς τ' ἐρειπίοις** (Auratus) is obvious, but much too obvious. The superficial difficulty of the genitives would have kept them out, if they were not genuine.

666. **σκάφος**: not superfluous. The stripped vessel was *a hull entire* but no more.

667: "*stole us away or begged us off from destruction*; a bold but quite characteristic phrase, requiring no emendation". Sidgwick.

669. *Fortune, to save us, was pleased to ride on board her*: **θέλουσα** emphasizes the fact that their miraculous escape must be put down to the mere will of fate.—The objection to this is, that according to Greek usage **ναῦν** (or rather a pronoun) should be supplied and not expressed.—**—ναυστολοῦσ'** (Casaubon) is good, but hazardous, and **θέλουσα** is in itself effective.

670: *so that she took not in the surging water between her planks*. **ἐν ἄρμῳ** (Wecklein) literally 'at a joining'. This very brilliant suggestion may at least be accepted provisionally. It makes perfect sense, and without something of the kind **κύματος ζάλην ἔχειν** is incomplete. The rarity of **ἄρμω** and the familiarity of **ὄρμος** amply account for the error.—**ἐν ὄρμῳ**, *in the roads, at mooring*, is to me quite un-

μήτ' ἔξοκεῖλαι πρὸς κραταίλεων χθόνα.
 ἔπειτα δ' "Αἰδην πόντιον πεφευγότες,
 λευκὸν κατ' ἡμαρ, οὐ πεποιθότες τύχη,
 ἐβουκολοῦμεν φροντίσιν νέον πάθος,
 στρατοῦ καμόντος καὶ κακῶς σποδουμένου. 675
 καὶ νῦν ἐκείνων εἴ τις ἔστιν ἐμπνέων,
 λέγουσιν ἡμᾶς ὡς ὀλωλότας, τί μή;
 ἡμεῖς τ' ἐκείνους ταῦτ' ἔχειν δοξάζομεν.
 γένοιτο δ' ὡς ἄριστα· Μενέλεων γὰρ οὖν
 πρῶτόν τε καὶ μάλιστα προσδόκα μολεῖν, 680

intelligible. Can it be conceived that in the circumstances described the vessel should be moored at all? The two obvious dangers were springing a leak and running upon one of the innumerable islands and rocks of the Archipelago.—*ἔχειν to take, get*: see on *v. 724*.

674. *ἐβουκολοῦμεν*: literally 'ruminated', i.e. *brooded on*.—*νέον πάθος* *altered case*.

675. *σποδουμένου*: a strong word from popular language. See on *Theb. 794*.

676. *εἴ τις ἔστιν ἐμπνέων* 'if any is in being and draws breath'.—For *ἔστι* cf. the common phrases *οὐκέτ' ἔστι* *he is no more, he is dead*, *θεοὶ αὖν ὄντες* 'gods that live for ever' etc.—The reading *ἐστίν ἐμπνέων*, with the supposed sense 'is breathing, is alive', has been justly condemned (see conjectures in Wecklein) as, to say the least, very doubtful Greek. But the error is in the accentuation of the ancient editors, not in the words.

679. *Μενέλεων γὰρ οὖν* *As for Menelaus then*. *γὰρ οὖν* marks that the narrative has now been brought to the point at which the question which drew it (*v. 622*) can be fully answered.

680. *πρῶτον...μολεῖν* *be it first and soonest supposed that he got home*. *προσδόκα*: *προσδοκᾶν* and *ἐλπίζειν*, like the English *expect*, are used in reference not only to the future, but also, with the sense *suppose*, to the present and past,

and in that sense take the same construction, with respect to the tense of the sequent infinitive, as other verbs of thinking. For examples see *L. and Sc. s. vv.*—*μολεῖν* *that he arrived, i.e.* that his ship, like that of Agamemnon, got home, that he reached the Peloponnese after the storm, only, being carried to a greater distance, at some other part of the coast. He would of course make for the nearest accessible point, not necessarily for Argos. It is natural and inevitable that this not improbable and consoling supposition should be entertained, till it is disproved.—'Expect him to return' or 'that he will return' is the translation commonly given or assumed. The vexed question, whether this is a possible sense of the simple aorist, need not here be discussed. A series of corrections (*Μενελέων γ' ἂν οὐ* Badham, etc., see Wecklein) shows that it is rejected by many, in my opinion rightly. But even if it were possible in itself, it would be inadmissible here. The supposition put forward in *v. 680* is manifestly something sharply distinguished from *ἐλπίς τις ἦξειν* in *v. 684*, as is recognized by another series of corrections (*προσδόκα θανείν* Hartung, etc.). No ingenuity can justify such a sentence as 'first and by preference expect him to come; and if etc...., then there is a hope that he will come'. But correctly translated the text does not, I think, offer any difficulty.

εἰ δ' οὖν τις ἀκτὶς ἡλίου νιν ἱστορεῖ
 χλωρόν τε καὶ βλέποντα, μηχαναῖς Διός,
 οὐπω θέλοντος ἐξαναλῶσαι γένος,
 ἐλπίς τις αὐτὸν πρὸς δόμους ἦξειν πάλιν.
 τοσαῦτ' ἀκούσας ἴσθι τάληθ' ἢ κλύων.

685

ΧΟ. τίς ποτ' ὠνόμαζεν ὧδ'
 ἐς τὸ πᾶν ἐτητύμως

στρ. α'.

682. καὶ ζῶντα καὶ βλέποντα.

686. ὠνόμαζεν.

681. εἰ δ' οὖν *and, supposing the contrary, still if*, supposing, that is, he has not got in. This is the regular meaning of οὖν in such a connexion.—*τις...ἱστορεῖ any ray of the sun is discovering him.* Again here the language is coloured by a natural suggestion of the morning hour.

682. *χλωρόν τε καὶ βλέποντα: ἀντὶ τοῦ ζῶντα* Hesychius; whence Toup restored it here. It is not certain that the gloss relates to this passage, but it is highly probable, and the improvement is great.—*μηχαναῖς Διός:* join with ἦξειν.

683. *γένος:* his offspring, the family of the Atridae, descended from him.—*οὐπω θέλοντος:* 'whose will it *never* is', i.e. 'who may be presumed not to will' etc. The Greek and English uses illustrate one another.

684. *αὐτὸν* emphatic; 'for him, if for any, there is a hope'.

685: *this is all that I can tell you for fact*, literally 'so far you may know that you have been told the facts'.

686. *ὠνόμαζεν:* 'proposed to name', 'suggested the naming', must apparently be the force of the tense.—The MS. has the aorist, in the Doric form *ὠνόμαξεν*, nor am I at all sure that it is not right. The tense is much more suitable; the inspired judgment should be rather decisive than tentative. The forms in -ξω, -ξα are not commonly used in the quasi-Doric of the chorus; but we are not in a position to determine what subtleties of literary association might guide a poet

in the use of such a composite and artificial language, evolved by tradition from various dialects. Even to assign a reason here for the Doric form would not be difficult. It prepares the way for *ἐλένας* v. 693, and the whole art of interpreting *ὀνόματα* seems to have been in its origin Sicilian; see *Journal of Philology*, ix. p. 197.—But it is of course possible that *ὠνόμαζεν* is an error; in v. 450 the reading of f is reported as 'apparently γεμύξων', and see v. 776.

687. *ὧδ' ἐς τὸ πᾶν ἐτητύμως* 'with such entire and literal truth'. On *ἐτητύμως* and its etymological associations see the *Seven* etc., Appendix II.—*ἐς τὸ πᾶν*, or *ἐς τοπᾶν* i.e. 'with such literal truth in respect of his divination'? For the reasons in favour of *ἐς τοπᾶν* see Appendix E and the *Journal of Philology*, ix. pp. 128–141. I still think *ἐς τὸ πᾶν* here a poor phrase and the other better, but as the traditional reading is admissible I do not change it.—Mr Sidgwick objects that the word *τοπᾶ* *divination*, meaning not 'prophecy' but 'conjecture' as opposed to 'knowledge', is here unsuitable. But I submit that what was supposed to be 'divined' by the *μάντις* at the naming of a child was its yet undeveloped character (*φύσις*, see the article cited), and that this was in the strictest sense 'divined' or 'conjectured'.

688. *μή...*; *Can it have been* etc.—*τις ὄντινα*, studiously vague, 'an unknown some one'.

(μή τις ὄντιν' οὐχ ὀρώμεν προνοί-
αισι τοῦ πεπρωμένου

γλῶσσαν ἐν τύχᾳ νέμων;)

690

τὰν δορίγαμβρον ἀμφινει-

κῇ θ' Ἑλέαν; ἐπεὶ πρεπόντως

ἐλένας, ἔλανδρος, ἐλέπτολις,

ἐκ τῶν ἀβροτίμων

προκαλυμμάτων ἔπλευσεν

695

ζεφύρου γίγαντος αὔρα,

πολύανδροί τε φεράσπιδες κυνα-

γοὶ κατ' ἵχνος πλατᾶν ἄφαντον

κελσάντων Σιμόεντος

689. *ais.*698. *πλάταν.*

690. ἐν τύχᾳ *aright*, 'so as to *hit* the mark', literally 'with hit', or 'with rightness', ἐν indicating circumstance, as *in* does often in Latin, but ἐν in Greek rarely. The phrase is very probably technical.

692. Ἑλέαν predicate with ὠνόμαζεν: hence the article τὰν, as τὰν δορίγαμβρον ἀμφινεικῇ τε is properly substantial.

693. ἐλένας *destroyer* (see ἐλεῖν, αἰρέω) of *ships*, a Doric form from ἐλένας, as Μενέλας from Μενέλας *Menelaus* (Salmasius, followed by Enger and by Sidgwick). Here the use of the exceptional form could hardly be avoided, if the point was to be made at all. With the Attic ἐλέανς (Blomfield), which does not suggest the accusative ἐλέαν at all, the coincidence is destroyed. The ms. appears to me clearly correct.

694. τῶν *those*, as if they were famous, as in legend they probably were.—ἀβροτίμων *delicate-costly*, ἀβρῶν καὶ τιμῶν.—ἀβροπήμων (Salmasius) is not, I think, an improvement. The *costly* luxury of the wicked queen is a natural point to touch (see on v. 917) and the form of the compound is simple.

695. ἐκ προκαλυμμάτων.....ἔπλευσε *she left her curtained bower to sail the sea*, imitated by Euripides, speaking of Medea flying with Jason (*Med.* 431), ἐκ μὲν οἴκων

ἔπλευσας *thou didst quit for the sea thy father's house*.—For πλεῦσαι to *take to sea* cf. Eur. *Hec.* 1205 πλεῦσαντες αἰθῆς.

696. γίγαντος: implying not merely strength, but fierce, uncontrolled strength, the γίγαντες being characteristically *rebels* against the divine law. In fact the wind itself typifies the wild and monstrous passion.

698. πλατᾶν Heath, the better accentuation; *in the oars' unseen track*.—Supply ἔπλευσαν.

699. κελσάντων *of them who had put in or reached land, i.e. Paris and his company*.—κελσάντοιιν (*Wecklein*), *i.e. Helen and Paris*, marks the two persons too distinctly perhaps for the purpose of this sentence, which relates rather to the Trojans regarded as robbers.—Σιμόεντος...αἱματόεσσιν *to the banks of Simois, whose woods must be wasted by their bloody fray*, literally 'because of' it. ἀξιφύλλους, here a 'proleptic' epithet describing the result of the hunt, means literally 'with leafage broken down' and is formed from the stem of ἀγνύναι. For the sense of the verb see *Il.* 12. 146 ἀγροτέροισι σύεσσιν ἐοικότε, τῷ τ' ἐν δρεσσιν | ἀνδρῶν ἡδὲ κυνῶν δέχεται κολοσυρτὸν ἰόντα, | δοχμῷ τ' αἰσσοῦντε περὶ σφίσιν ἀγνυτὸν ὕλην, which passage or others like it Aeschylus probably had in his mind. In the meta-

ἀκτὰς ἐπ' ἀξιφύλλους
 δι' ἔριν αἱματόεσσαν.
 Ἴλιφ δὲ κῆδος ὀρ-
 θώνυμον τελεσσίδρων
 μῆνις ἤλασε, τραπέζας ἀτί-
 μωσιν ὑστέρῳ χρόνῳ
 καὶ ξυνεστίου Διὸς
 πρassoμένα τὸ νυμφότι-
 μον μέλος ἐκφάτως τίνοντας,

700

ἀντ. α'.

705

704. ἀτίμωσιν ἴν'.

phor Paris is the wild beast and Helen his spoil; the avenging Greeks are the huntsmen, who track their prey to the lair (Troy); the war is the violent and bloody fight which, as in Homer's picture, there ensues, and which devastates the surrounding wood or, without metaphor, causes the destruction and razing of Troy.—ἀξιφύλλους is the conjecture of Triclinius (*Cod. Farn.*), who here, as in many places, has by his arbitrary change merely diverted attention from the much better reading of the faithful copy. ἀξιφύλλους δι' ἔριν αἱματόεσσαν 'whose forests will grow because of the bloody fray' is in the first place hardly sense in itself. Wecklein refers to Hor. *Od.* 2. 1. 29 'quis non Latino sanguine pinguior campus?', but it will be seen that the phrases differ materially. And, what is much more important, the supposed growth of the forest has no relation to the metaphor of the hunt and no point as a symbol.—As to the metre, the antistrophe (*v.* 716) gives no evidence between ἀξιφύλλους and ἀξιφύλλους, for it does not correspond exactly to either; and see further Appendix II.

702. κῆδος ὀρθώνυμον: a marriage or bride deserving the name in its other sense of sorrow. Cf. the play on κήδομαι—κήδεσθής in *Theb.* 126.—Ἴλιφ depends on κῆδος in the second sense.

704. ἤλασε *chased*, a slight echo as it were of the metaphor of the hunt.—τραπέζας ἀτίμωσιν καὶ ξυν. Διός: the

offence of Paris against the laws of hospitality (*v.* 374). But by the accidental form of the phrase, the reference to the 'table' and the description of Zeus as ξυνέστιος 'who shares the hearth (and feast)' for the more precise ξένιος, the speakers involuntarily touch another and ominous memory, the 'outraged table' of Atreus and his brother. See on *vv.* 139, 157, 1601.—ἀτίμωσιν Canter.

707. πρassoμένα *to avenge*, with accusatives of the offenders (τοὺς) τίνοντας and the crime ἀτίμωσιν, literally 'exact-ing it of them'.—τὸ (ἐκείνο) is added because this song is to be contrasted with another.

708. ἐκφάτως. ἐκφάσθαι, so far as is known, means only 'to speak out, articulate', Hom. *Od.* 10. 246 οὐδέ τι ἐκφάσθαι δύνατο ἔπος ἰεμένος περ, *ib.* 13. 308 μηδέ τω ἐκφάσθαι...ἀλλὰ σιωπῇ πάσχειν ἄλγεα πολλά. Accordingly ἐκφάτως should mean *expressively* (rather than *loudly*, Paley: the rendering *unspeakably* is not well founded). According to legend, the alternative name of Paris, Ἀλέξανδρος (*repelling the husband*), was bestowed upon him in admiration of his prowess (see Eur. *frag.* 65 Dindorf). From what follows (*v.* 713) it is likely that ἐκφάτως refers to this; the Trojans found a significant expression for their admiration of the robber's feat.—τίνοντας (impf. tense) *did honour to it*, i.e. celebrated it with zeal (cf. *παιᾶνα ἐτίμα v.* 258, Wecklein).

ὑμέναιον, ὃς τότ' ἐπέρρεπεν
γαμβροῖσιν αἰεῖδεν.

710

μεταμανθάνουσα δ' ὕμνον
Πριάμου πόλις γεραιὰ
πολύθρηνον μέγα που στένει, κικλή-
σκουσα Πάριν τὸν αἰνόλεκτρον,

715

πάμπροσθ' ἢ πολυθρηνον
αἰῶν' ἀμφὶ πολιτᾶν
μέλεον αἶμ' ἀνατλάσα.

ἔθρεψεν δὲ λέοντος

στρ. β'.

Ἴνιν δόμοις ἀγάλακτον

οἷτας ἀνὴρ φιλόμαστον,

720

715. παμπρόσθη.

716. πολίταν.

718—19. λέοντα σίνιν.

720. οὔτος.

709. ἐπέρρεπεν *fell to them*, inclined to them as a scale, which now is turned the other way.—γαμβροῖσιν αἰεῖδεν 'to sing as kinsmen of the groom'.

713. πολυθρηνον predicate with στένει. Supply αὐτόν, *i.e.* τὸν ὕμνον.—μέγα, or μετά (Schneidewin), *i.e.* μεταστένει, 'chants with repentant change'? The difference of letters is almost nothing, and either may be right.—κικλήσκουσα ...αἰνόλεκτρον: finding for Paris names very different from the triumphant Ἀλέξανδρος (see on *v.* 708). In choosing the contrasted name αἰνόλεκτρος Aeschylus is guided perhaps by a certain similarity, with transposition of sounds, to Ἀλέξανδρος. This however is of course not essential to the purpose.

715—717: *for full of lamentation have been all her weary days till now for the miserable slaughter of her people*, literally 'she who sustained all-before a life full of lamentation for' etc.—πάμπροσθ' ἢ Blomfield: πολιτᾶν Auratus. This sentence takes up the word πολυθρηνον from *v.* 713, echoing and explaining it after Aeschylus' manner.—πάμπροσθε... αἰῶνα...ἀνατλάσα. The adverb, literally 'all-before', though joined in construction with the verb ἀνατλάσα, qualifies in effect the substantive αἰῶνα. For the article † see *Theb.* 280; it gives to the

description the tone of an exclamation. For the 'Ionic' *η* see *vv.* 428, 1104.—αἶμα: so αὐτάδελφον αἶμα *the slaying of a brother*, *Theb.* 705, and see *L.* and *Sc. s. v.* αἶμα.—It is very important to observe that the difficulties found in this passage arise solely from metrical hypothesis. Apart from metre the readings (not changes) of Blomfield and Auratus are quite satisfactory. πάμπροσθ' ἢ is also admissible, but I think not so good. As to the metre see Appendix II.

718. λέοντος Ἴνιν Conington.

719. ἀγάλακτον (δντα), the mother-lioness being killed by the huntsmen who took the whelp.—Dr Wecklein reads ἀγάλακτα βούτας (see below) ἀνὴρ φιλομάστων, translating ὀγάλακτα φιλομάστων by 'as foster-brother of the sucklings in his herd. Cf. Hesych. ἀγάλαξ· ὁμότιθος, *Etym. M.* III. 42 ἀγάλακτες οἱ ἀδελφοί, παρὰ τὸ α σημαῖνον τὸ ὁμοῦ, ὁμογάλακτές τινες ὄντες, Suid. ἀγάλακτες· δμαιοι, ἀδελφοί". This gives equally good sense, but I think the evidence is strong against ἀγάλακτα here. The supposed changes of the original ἀγάλακτα and φιλομάστων have no apparent motive.

720. οἷτας ἀνὴρ *a shepherd*: οἷτης from οἷς, as βούτης from βοῦς. This correction, if worth anything, should be credited to Heusde and Wecklein, who

ἐν βιότου προτελείοις
 ἄμερον, εὐφιλόπαιδα,
 καὶ γεραροῖς ἐπίχαρτον.
 πολέα δ' ἔσχ' ἐν ἀγκάλαις
 νεοτρόφου τέκνου δίκαν
 φαιδρωπὸς ποτὶ χεῖρα σαί-
 νων τε γαστροῦς ἀνάγκαις.
 χρονισθεὶς δ' ἀπέδειξεν
 ἦθος τὸ πρὸς τοκέων· χά-

725

ἀντ. β'.

729. ἔθος. τοκῆων.

write respectively *βότας* and *βούτας*. Something like this, some description attached to *ἀνὴρ*, is plainly to be sought in the MS. reading, *οὔτος*. (The *ν* in *f* has both accentuations, " over " : but " must be what M gave, the other merely the familiar accentuation *οὔτος* written first by mistake.) But *οὔτας* is preferable, not only for obvious technical reasons, but because the sequel (*v.* 731 *μηλοφόνουσι*) shows that a *shepherd*, not an *oxherd*, was in the poet's mind.—*οὔτως* *h*, an idle guess. If *οὔτως* had been the word, it would have been preserved, nor does the place admit *οὔτως* or indeed, I feel, anything except an epithet to *ἀνὴρ*. *οὔτας ἀνὴρ* would be still closer to the MS., in fact almost identical, but I cannot find evidence that the loss of the *ι* in *ὀφι-τας* would be a possible phonetic change.

723: *making dignity itself to smile. ἐπίχαρτον*. For *χαρά* and the cognate words see on *Theb.* 429.—*καὶ even*, not 'and'.—*γεραροῖς*: not 'seniors'. This passage is not sufficient evidence for giving to *γεραρός* the otherwise unknown meaning of *γεραῖός*. *Dignity* is more to the point than *age*, and makes an equally good antithesis to *εὐφιλόπαιδα*, 'easily making friends with the *παῖδες*', which, it must be remembered, includes the servants as well as the children. The *γεραροί* are Homer's *αἰδοῖοι*, the masters and graver persons in the house generally. Mr Housman proposes to read *γεραιοῖς*,

which is better than to force the meaning of *γεραρός*.

724. *πολέα δ' ἔσχε* and *many a thing it got*, a simple popular phrase: the pretty tricks of the beast made every one pet it and feed it.—For *σχεῖν* to *get* see Pindar *Ol.* 2. 10 *ἱερὸν ἔσχον οἴκημα* *they got a sacred habitation*, *Pyth.* 1. 65 *ἔσχον δ' Ἀμύκλας*, *Pyth.* 3. 24 *ἔσχε τοι-αὔταν ἄφ᾽αταν* *she conceived such a delusion*, etc., with Gildersleeve's notes.—ἐν ἀγκάλαις goes with the words which follow and specially with *νεοτρόφον*.

726. *φαιδρωπὸς.....σαίνων τε*. Note the characteristic treatment of the adjective *φαιδρωπὸς* as a participle, *quasi* *φαιδρῶς προσορῶν τὴν χεῖρα*: cf. *vv.* 349, 547, 1075 etc.—Many changes are proposed in this sentence, chiefly, I think, for want of the proper rendering of *ἔσχε*. The most plausible is to combine *φαιδρωπὸς* (Weil) with *σαίνοντα* (Auratus), translating 'and often he held it in his arms' etc. So Wecklein. But the supposed errors are not probable, and the 'feeding' of the creature is the point required to make an antithesis with the sequel. The translation of *ἔσχε* by 'it lay' is incorrect, and *ἔσκε* (*it was*, Casaubon) an inappropriate word. I find no valid objection to the MS. reading.

729. ἦθος Conington. The *ε* seems to have come from a marginal correction of the *η* in *τοκῆων*, transposed to the wrong place.—τὸ πρὸς τοκέων 'which it had from its parents'.

ριν γὰρ τροφᾶς ἀμείβων
 μηλοφόνοισιν ἄταις
 δαῖτ' ἀκέλευστος ἔτευξεν,
 αἵματι δ' οἶκος ἐφύρθη,
 ἄμαχον ἄλγος οἰκέταις,
 μέγα σίνος πολυκτόνον·
 ἐκ θεοῦ δ' ἱερεὺς τις ἄ-
 τας δόμοις προσετράφθη.
 πάραυτα δ' ἔλθειν ἐς Ἴλίου πόλιν
 λέγοιμ' ἂν φρόνημα μὲν νηνέμου γαλάνας,

730

735

στρ. γ'.

734. ἄμαχον δ'.

737. προσετράφη.

731. ἄταις *ruin, ravage*, precisely as in Soph. *Ai.* 308 (Ajax coming to his senses sees the animals he has killed) καὶ πλήρης ἄτης ὡς διοπτέει στέγος.—The attempt to find a word better, or as good, has been fruitless. ἄταισιν (*i.e.* ἄταισιν?) h, ἄσαισιν *surfeit* Conington, ἀνταῖς *shrieks* Ahrens, ἀγαῖσιν *breakage* Klausen, etc. Others to save ἄταις insert σὺν (μηλοφόνοισι σὺν ἄταις), but the sound is ugly and the preposition cumbrous. The alleged difficulty is in the metre, as to which, as well as that of the preceding verse, see Appendix II.

734. ἄμαχον ἄλγος: the accusative in apposition to the conception αἵματι... ἐφύρθη. The conjunction δέ in f has been inserted deliberately from mistake as to the construction.

736. *By some higher power it was directed to the house, to be a minister as it were of ruin there.* ἐκ θεοῦ: the patron and avenger of the lions, as of the eagles in *v.* 57: but the tone and style of these words belong rather to the interpretation than to the parable.—ἱερεὺς 'a priest', because μηλοφόνος. Observe that, to mark this connexion of thought, ἄτας echoes ἄταις in *v.* 731.—δόμοις is related both to ἱερεὺς and to προσετράφθη.—προσετράφθη: *it was directed by the unconscious agency of those who captured it.* For the Homeric form see τρέπω προστρέπω and compare πολέα for πολλὰ in *v.* 724. For the parabolical meaning

see *v.* 747 συμένα πομπῇ Διὸς Ξενίου.—The omission of θ, a kind of error always liable to happen in heavy combinations of consonants (cf. *v.* 1186 σύμφογγος for σύμφθογγος), was here facilitated by the exceptional form.—προσεθρέφθη Heath and many texts: but (1) the supposed corruption of this familiar form, protected by metre, to προσετράφη, is incredible; (2) προσεθρέφθη δόμοις is not grammatical Greek nor indeed a significant expression at all; and (3) the stolen whelp was not 'reared by' the god.—The verb προστρέφω, though possible, is not apparently extant, which is not surprising, as it would not, except in a very peculiar context, be required or admissible.

738. πάραυτα *even so?* This interpretation is more suitable to the context than at first, παραχρήμα (Hesychius), and may be deduced as well from the etymological origin παρ' αὐτά. On the other hand the temporal sense is actually found in Eur. fr. 1064, πάραυτα δ' ἡσθεῖς ὕστερον στένει μέγα (Wecklein).—ἐλθεῖν: the real subject is *Helen*, the aspects or effects of whose presence are personified.

739. φρόνημα μὲν νηνέμου γαλάνας *the imagination or presumption of a windless calm, i.e.* 'what was presumed a secure enjoyment'. That this is the meaning of this expression (rather than that the spirit of Helen was like a windless calm) is shown by the otherwise

ἀκασκαῖόν τ' ἄγαλμα πλούτου,
μαλθακὸν ὀμμάτων βέλος,
δηξίθυμον ἔρωτος ἄνθος.
παρακλῖνας' ἐπέκρανευ
δὲ γάμου πικροῦ τελευτάς,
δύσεδρος καὶ δυσόμιλος
συμένα Πριαμίδαισιν
πομπᾷ Διὸς ξενίου,
νυμφόκλαυτος Ἐρινύς.
παλαίφατος δ' ἐν βροτοῖς γέρων λόγος

740

745

ἀντ. γ'.

740. omits τ'.

extraordinary position of μέν, which is only excusable if φρόνημα contains the point of the antithesis between this period and the next. In fact φρόνημα is to be understood as qualifying the whole description in vv. 739—742. For the sense of φρόνημα, 'proud thought', 'presumptuous imagination', see L. and Sc. s. v.

740. The metre of v. 751 seems to show that there is an error here. ἀκασκαῖόν τ' Hermann; which may be right, though the conjunction is out of place. Nothing can be determined without more certainty as to the meaning and use of ἀκασκαῖος (a unique word), and as to the metaphor intended in ἄγαλμα. The ms. points rather to ἀκασκαίων.—ἀκασκαῖος ἡσύχως, μαλακῶς, βραδέως Hesychius.—The accumulation here of terms in apposition admits in English only a paraphrase, 'a purchased pride, whose gentle eye shot that soft bolt, which pricks from the heart the flower of love' or the like.

743. παρακλῖνας' ἐπέκρανευ δὲ. The conjunction is so placed in order that ἐπέκρανευ, marking what happened in the result, may receive the antithetic emphasis as well as παρακλῖνας: see v. 232.—She made such end to the marriage that it cost them dear. πικρὰς is suggested by f as a correction, but πικροῦ as a proleptic epithet expresses the same thing in a less commonplace way. For

the conventional sense of πικρός see Eur. Med. 398 πικροῦς δ' ἐγὼ σφιν καὶ λυγροῦς θήσω γάμους, Bacch. 357, Supp. 832 etc.

745. δύσεδρος καὶ δυσόμιλος an ill companion in the ruined home, a poetic exaggeration of language such as might apply to an ill-assorted union; the conception of Helen as a bride wedded to Troy is pursued throughout.

747. πομπᾷ, still a bridal term, the pompa or religious procession which brought the wife to her new home.

748. νυμφόκλαυτος Ἐρινύς a fiend to wed and to rue. The language and conception of the previous lines is still pursued. νυμφόκλαυτος: literally 'bewept as a wife', i.e. one whose bridal costs tears of repentance. Note that νύμφη is not restricted to a bride at the time of marriage but means a wedded woman generally. See L. and Sc. s.v.—νυμφόκλαυτος is sometimes, perhaps generally, rendered 'bewailed by brides', i.e. causing the Trojan women to weep. But the word must be read in the light of all that leads up to it.—'Eine Thränenbraut' Wecklein, rightly.

749. "Aeschylus is rejecting the old Greek superstition that Prosperity or Wealth brings woe; it is not wealth he says, but always Sin" (Sidgwick). But this later doctrine had also been embodied in a proverb older than Aeschylus. See on v. 760.

τέτυκται, μέγαν τελεσθέντα φωτὸς ὄλβον 750
 τεκνοῦσθαι μῆδ' ἄπαιδα θνήσκειν,
 ἐκ δ' ἀγαθᾶς τύχας γένει
 βλαστάνειν ἀκόρεστον οἰζύν.
 δίχα δ' ἄλλων μονόφρων εἰ-
 μί· τὸ γὰρ δυσσεβὲς ἔργον 755
 μετὰ μὲν πλείονα τίκτει,
 σφετέρᾳ δ' εἰκότα γέννα.
 οἴκων γὰρ εὐθυδίκων
 καλλίπαις πότμος αἰεί.
 φιλεῖ δὲ τίκτειν ὕβρις μὲν παλαιὰ νεά- στρ. δ'. 760
 ζουσιν ἐν κακοῖς βροτῶν
 ὕβριν τότε ἢ τόθ', ὅτε τὸ κύριον μόλῃ
 †νεαρὰ φάους κότον, δαίμονά τε τὸν ἄμαχον, ἀπόλεμον,

762. ὅταν.

750. μέγαν τελεσθέντα *when it comes to its full growth*, adultum. See v. 370.

752. γένει *by kind*, according to nature.

753. οἰζύν. There is no example of this word in tragedy *requiring* the Homeric pronunciation οἰζύν. It is admissible here and in most of the examples, but οἰζύν is now given in all texts.

754. μονόφρων *alone in my way of thinking*.

755. τὸ γὰρ *for in reality*, literally 'for as to that'. So τὸ δὲ *but in reality* frequently, even in prose, e.g. Plato *Apologia* 23A οἴονται γὰρ με οἱ παρόντες ταῦτ' αὐτὸν εἶναι σοφὸν ἅ ἂν ἄλλον ἐξελέγξω· τὸ δὲ κινδυνεύει τῷ ὄντι ὁ θεὸς σοφὸς εἶναι.—τὸ δυσσεβὲς γὰρ Pauw, on metrical grounds, but see Appendix II.

756. μετὰ *afterwards*.

759. καλλίπαις πότμος combines in one phrase the ideas that the prosperity of the house is reproduced in successive generations, and that this prosperity is itself the child of righteousness, as misery is of sin.

760. φιλεῖ δὲ τίκτειν ὕβρις...ὕβριν. Similar language with slight variations occurs in an ancient oracle cited by Herodotus (8. 77), in Pindar (*Ol.* 13. 9),

and elsewhere in Aeschylus (*Eum.* 536); it was evidently consecrated by religious tradition. For some remarks upon the origin of it see *Seven against Thebes*, Appendix II. p. 142.

762. τότε ἢ τότε *at this time or that*, i.e. sooner or later.—ὅτε...μόλῃ: archaic and poetical construction, for which the MS. has substituted the regular ὅταν, added originally as an explanatory note (Klausen).

763—766: injured and not to be restored with any certainty. The general sense is that ὕβρις (the parent) gives birth to ὕβρις (the child) and also to θράσος, an offspring like their progenitors.—In v. 763 something extraneous has been incorporated with the text: I should be satisfied with ὅτε τὸ κύριον μόλῃ νεαρὰ φάους, *when the young one (the young ὕβρις) comes to the appointed hour of light* (τὸ κύριον φάους), i.e. of birth, and for δαίμονά τε τὸν, condemned by metre and Aeschylean usage, perhaps δαίμονα τ' ἔταν (ἐτάν Wecklein) *and a kindred spirit*. In vv. 764—766 either the plural εἰδομένας, or else the dual throughout μελαίνα...ἔτα...εἰδομένα, seems correct, the second better (Donaldson), as accounting easily for the errors, having

ἀνίερων θράσος μελαί-
 νας μελάθροισιν ἄτας, 765
 εἰδομέναν τοκεῦσιν.†
 δίκαι δὲ λάμπει μὲν ἐν δυσκάπνοις δώμασιν, ἀντ. δ'.
 τὸν δ' ἐναίσιμον τίει.
 τὰ χρυσόπαστα δ' ἔδεθλα σὺν πίνῳ χερῶν
 παλιντρόποις ὄμμασι λιποῦσ' ὅσια προσέβατό, 770
 δύναμιν οὐ σέβουσα πλού-
 του παράσημον αἶνφ'
 πᾶν δ' ἐπὶ τέρμα νωμᾷ.

ἄγε δὴ, βασιλεῦ, Τροίας πολίπορθ',
 Ἀτρώως γένεθλον, 775

768. τίει βίον.

769. ἐσθλά.

770. προσέβα τοῦ.

been mistaken for the nominative singular and variously corrected to the acc. plural and the acc. singular. For a great number of suggestions see Wecklein's Appendix.

768. τὸν ἐναίσιμον *the virtuous man*.—βίον (omitted by Ahrens) is a mistaken explanation. Aeschylus would write ἐναίσιμον βίον not τὸν ἐναίσιμον βίον.

769. ἔδεθλα *abodes*, Auratus. The MS. error is due to the omission of repeated letters in δεδεθλα; hence εθλα, corrected to the common ἐσθλά.

770. ὅσια προσέβατο, supply ἔδεθλα: *she goes to the holy* (gnomic aorist).—I see no reason to doubt that it is this aorist προσέβατο which appears, very slightly concealed, in the MS., part being read as the common form προσέβα, and the termination corrected into the appearance of a possessive genitive. For analogous forms compare ἐφην—ἐφάμην, ἔφθην—φθάμενος, ἔπτην—ἐπτάμην, ἔκταν—ἐκτατο, etc. Some of these aorists actually extant are extremely rare (φθάμενος occurs twice); so are other analogous forms from the stem βα- itself (e.g. ὑπέρβασαν for ὑπερέβησαν *Il.* 12. 469); and it is probably the merest accident that the small fraction of

archaic Greek literature now remaining does not, if it does not, exhibit any example but this of the analogous middle form ἐβάμην, which must, it would seem, have been at the command of any archaistic writer who chose to employ it. The corrections proposed here, προσέμολε Hermann, προσέσυντο Ahrens, etc., do not account for the MS. reading. If we suppose an explanatory gloss, the author of a gloss would have used the common vocabulary (e.g. προσήλθε) not a poetic form like προσέβα. The presumption in favour of the existence of the 'middle' aorist may be measured by considering that perhaps very few scholars indeed would venture to say, without consulting books, whether it is extant or not.

772. παράσημον αἶνφ *mis-stamped with praise*, like a forged coin bearing an untrue mark of value.

774—800. Agamemnon enters in a chariot, followed by Cassandra, also in a chariot, attended by his soldiers, and surrounded by an applauding crowd. The elders are only too well aware that this apparently unanimous enthusiasm is with many only affected, and their first thought is to suggest suspicion and apprise the king that he is being deceived. See the Introduction.

πῶς σε προσείπω; πῶς σε σεβίζω
μήθ' ὑπεράρας μήθ' ὑποκάμψας
καιρὸν χάριτος;

πολλοὶ δὲ βροτῶν τὸ δοκεῖν εἶναι
προτίουσι δίκην παραβάντες.

780

τῷ δυσπραγοῦντι δ' ἐπιστενάχειν
πᾶς τις ἔτοιμος· δεῖγμα δὲ λύπης
οὐδὲν ἐφ' ἧπαρ προσικνεῖται·
καὶ ξυγχαίρουσιν ὁμοιοπρεπεῖς
ἀγέλαστα πρόσωπα βιαζόμενοι.

785

776. σεβίζω.

776. σεβίζω: σεβίζω f, Doric aorist subj., here highly improbable. But the very fact that such an unfamiliar form was regarded as likely and not at once corrected is some evidence that Aeschylus did sometimes employ it. See on v. 686.

777. ὑπεράρας 'over-aiming', a metaphor from the *raised* bow, ὑποκάμψας 'turning short of', from the chariot race.

780. προτίουσι τοῦ εἶναι, supplied from τὸ δοκεῖν εἶναι *the appearance of reality*.—The πολλοὶ who like to be deceived are contrasted with the ἀγαθὸς προβατογνῶμων. That this is the meaning (and not that many prefer to *deceive*) is shown, I think, by the word προτίουσι. It could scarcely be said that hypocrites 'give more honour to' the unreal. The elders, who are expecting recognition as the 'faithful found', are vexed by the flattering demonstration going on around them; but they rely, they say, on the fairness (δίκη) and judgment of the king to acknowledge his true friends and detect imposture. See on v. 785.

782. δεῖγμα δὲ κτλ. *when the display of grief reaches not at all to the heart*. δεῖγμα λύπης, *i.e.* 'the grief displayed', the Greek and English idioms coinciding. For δεικνυμι in the sense of *ostentation* see L. and Sc. *s.v.*, and for οὐδὲν as an emphatic negative, *ib.* *s.v.* οὐδὲλ.—δῆγμα Stobaeus and (presumably by conjecture) Cod. Farn. The motive of the change

was to give οὐδὲν its common adjectival sense, 'no sting of grief', the less common adverbial use being ignored. But δῆγμα is much too strong a word for the place and consequently spoils the sense. The point is not that the grief does not *wound*, but that there is no grief at all.—The citations of Stobaeus are full of gross inaccuracies and must not be weighed against a valid reading in the ms. of the author. Indeed for obvious reasons a quotation is at best a poor authority on details. Stobaeus only proves at most that the reading δῆγμα is ancient.

784. καὶ ξυγχαίρουσιν (τῷ χαίροντι) ὁμοιοπρεπεῖς *and they copy the looks of him that laughs*. χαλεῖν (see on v. 723) refers originally and properly to the look, not to the feeling, of happiness.—It is debated (see Hermann) whether ξυγχαίρουσιν is verb or dative participle depending on ὁμοιοπρεπεῖς 'seeming like sympathizers'. If it is the participle, the verb must have been contained in the line which may be lost after v. 785 (see next note). The objection to this is that the preceding clause (τῷ δυσπραγοῦντι κτλ.) raises a strong expectation of an antithetic καὶ τῷ χαίροντι ξυγχαίρουσιν or the like, so that as soon as καὶ ξυγχαίρουσιν is heard it would naturally be understood as a verb.

785: *putting force upon faces where no smile is*.—βιαζόμενοι. | ὅστις. Note the break in metre, contrary to anapaestic

ὅστις δ' ἀγαθὸς προβατογνῶμων,
οὐκ ἔστι λαθεῖν ὄμματα φωτός,
τὰ δοκοῦντ' εὐφρονος ἐκ διανοίας,
ὑδαρεῖ σαίνειν φιλότῃτι.
σὺ δέ μοι τότε μὲν στέλλων στρατιὰν
'Ελένης ἔνεκ' (οὐ γὰρ ἔπη κεύσω)
κάρτ' ἀπομούσως ἦσθα γεγραμμένος
οὐδ' εὖ πραπίδων οἶακα νέμων,

790

791. ἐπικεύσω.

rule. If it is not an oversight, which after all is possible, we must suppose either (with Hermann) that something is lost, or that some interval (perhaps a change of voices) protected the hiatus. There is at any rate a strong break in the sense; ὅστις δὲ κτλ. is antithetical not to what immediately precedes, but to *vv.* 779—780; see note there. I think it more than possible that the hiatus was made deliberately in order to mark this. Such devices were perfectly well known to the Greek poets, from whom they were copied by the Romans, *e.g.* by Horace, in whose *Odes* they are of the highest importance.

786. **προβατογνῶμων**: one who, like a good herdsman, 'knows the points', as it were, of men. What is the particular deceptive symptom in the animal, which suggests here the ὑδαρὲς ὄμμα, I am not enough *προβατογνῶμων* to say.

787. **οὐκ ἔστι λαθεῖν** *it cannot escape (him)*. The object of **λαθεῖν** is *τοῦτον*, supplied from the relative clause.—**ὄμματα φωτός**: the *human eyes* (*φωτός* antithetic to *προβατο-*) of hypocrites who pretend to weep tears of sympathetic joy or sorrow.—**ὄμματα...φιλότῃτι**. This whole substantival clause is the subject of **λαθεῖν**; 'the man of judgment will detect that those eyes, which pretend (to glisten) with kind feeling, are flattering him with a love that is but water', when such is really the case. The word *σαίνειν*, in relation to the expression of the eye, signifies merely the look of kindness (Soph.

O. C. 319), though it easily takes the sense of flattery. Here it is to be supplied with τὰ δοκοῦντα from the main verb of the sentence.—If *σαίνει* (Casaubon) be read, τὰ becomes relative and nominative, the subject of *σαίνει*, the infinitive being supplied with *δοκοῦντα* as before. But this does not seem to be an improvement: the words *οὐκ ἔστι λαθεῖν ὄμματα φωτός*, if taken as a complete sentence, ought to mean 'he will not fail to observe the eyes', which is not exactly the point.

790. **τότε** *before, i.e.* during the continuance of the war, *στέλλων*, like *στόλος*, covering the whole enterprise.

791. **οὐ γὰρ ἔπη κεύσω** *for I will speak out (what I am thinking)*, literally 'will not suppress speech', cf. Eur. *Suppl.* 295—96 ΑΙ. ἀλλ' εἰς ὄκνον μοι μῦθος ὃν κεύθω φέρεi. ΘΗ. αἰσχρὸν γ' ἔλεξας, χρῆστ' ἔπη κρύπτειν φίλους, where the phrase *κεύθειν ἔπη* has exactly the same sense. The singular (*κεύθειν ἔπος*) is common in Homer, see L. and Sc. *s.vv.* *κεύθω*, *ἐπικεύθω*.—This seems the simplest correction. *οὐκ ἐπικεύσω* (Hermann) does not account for the MS. *οὐ γὰρ σ' ἐπικεύσω* Musgrave; but though *κεύθειν τί τινα* was correct, we cannot infer the same of *ἐπικεύθειν τί τινα*, which apparently is not certified by any one more trustworthy than Apollonius Rhodius.

792: *thou hadst no pleasing figure to my eyes*, 'wast in my view pictured unpleasingly'.

793: *i.e.* as not showing a full command of your judgment.

θάρσος ἐκούσιον

ἀνδράσι θνήσκουσι κομίζων·

795

νῦν δ' οὐκ ἀπ' ἄκρας φρενὸς οὐδ' ἀφίλως.

794. θράσος.

794—95. ἀνδράσι θνήσκουσι κομίζων: 'in spending the lives of men to recover (Helen)'. For κομίζειν in this same connexion see Eur. *Iph. A.* 770 χάλκασπις Ἀρης Ἐλέναν ἐκ Πριάμου κομίσαι θέλων ἐς γὰρ Ἑλλάδα, id. *Or.* 1614 (Menelaus speaks) ὦ τλήμων Ἑλένη...σὲ σφάγιον ἐκομίσ' ἐκ Φρυγῶν, and for numerous examples L. and Sc. s. v.—ἀνδράσι θνήσκουσι: instrumental dative, as with words signifying purchase, literally 'with dying men'. The complaint here is the same as in v. 455 foll., to which all this passage directly refers.—θάρσος ἐκούσιον (θάρσος *Cod. Farn.*, doubtless by conjecture but accidentally right). This phrase, though peculiar, should not be hastily condemned. What the context requires is some description of Helen such as to mark the folly of spending lives to win her back (Weil, cf. v. 62). Now ἐκούσιον *consenting* is exactly to the point and may be precisely illustrated by Eur. *El.* 1065 ἡ μὲν γὰρ (Helen) ἀρπασθεῖσ' ἐκούσ' ἀπώχετο, and id. *Tro.* 370, which paraphrases and expands ἐκούσιον here, ὁ δὲ στρατηγὸς (Agamemnon) ὁ σοφὸς ἐχθίστων ὕπερ | τὰ φίλτατ' ὤλεσ', ἡδονὰς τὰς οἴκοθεν | τέκνων ἀδελφῶ δούς γυναικὸς οὔνεκα, | καὶ ταῦθ' ἐκούσης κοῦ βίβ' λελησμένης: a woman who surrendered herself to the seducer was not worth recovery at all, much less at such a cost. Nor is θάρσος difficult in itself. Like μῖσος and στύγος, so θάρσος or θράσος is used in a personal sense (e.g. Eur. *Andr.* 261 ὦ βάρβαρον σὺ θρέμμα καὶ σκληρὸν θράσος), and it is of course common as a synonym of ἀναιδεια. The form θράσος is more frequent in this sense (in fact seldom or never has any other, which accounts for the reading of f here, originally added as in explanation), but

θάρσος is used so also. There is no reason therefore why θάρσος here should not mean a *wanton*, that is Helen herself. The question then is whether θάρσος in this particular sense was sufficiently established in popular use to make θάρσος ἐκούσιον sufficiently intelligible with this context in the sense a *consenting wanton*. The text is some evidence for the affirmative, and the parallel passages from Euripides above cited suggest that such language, applied to the case of Helen, was a traditional commonplace.—The correction θράσος ἐκ θυσίων...κομίζων (Franz) 'restoring confidence to the soldiers by the sacrifice (of Iphigenia)' attributes to κομίζων an impossible meaning, nor would it be natural that at this moment the elders should touch on this far-off story. What they have in their minds is the recent (and in truth still unappeased) indignation of the people for the loss of life in the war.

796. νῦν δ'...ἀφίλως. But now our judgment of thee is not (thus) superficial and unkind. The verb is γεγραμμένος εἰ 'thou art represented', or something to the same effect, supplied according to rule from the antithetic clause τότε...ῆσθα γεγραμμένος. 'Now that the suffering is over and the end won, we can revise our hasty judgment and make fair allowance'.—ἀπ' ἄκρας φρενὸς literally 'with the surface (only) of the mind'. Cf. Eur. *Hec.* 242 οὐ γὰρ ἄκρας καρδίας ἐφανσέ μου 'it made a more than superficial (deep) impression on me'. (In Eur. *Hipp.* 255 καὶ μὴ πρὸς ἄκρον μυελὸν ψυχῆς, the word ἄκρον must, if the text were correct, bear the exactly opposite sense of *inmost*, but I think the correction given by Wecklein in his note here, πρὸς ἄκρον καὶ μὴ μυελὸν ψυχῆς, is preferable. Even in Eur. *Bacch.*

εὐφρων πόνος εὖ τελέσασιν.
 γνώσει δὲ χρόνῳ διαπενθόμενος
 τὸν τε δικαίως καὶ τὸν ἀκαίρως
 πόλιν οἰκουροῦντα πολιτῶν.

800

ΑΓΑΜΕΜΝΩΝ.

πρῶτον μὲν Ἄργος καὶ θεοὺς ἐγχαρίους
 δίκη προσειπεῖν, τοὺς ἐμοὶ μεταίτιους
 νόστου δικαίων θ' ὦν ἐπραξάμην πόλιν
 Πριάμου· δίκας γὰρ οὐκ ἀπὸ γλώσσης θεοὶ
 κλύοντες ἀνδροθνήτας, Ἴλιου φθοράς,

805

203, οὐδ' εἰ δι' ἄκρων τὸ σοφὸν ἠῤῥηται φρενῶν, the same sense is probably to be taken, 'not for any subtleties which superficial minds may have invented'.) The term ἀπ' ἄκρας φρενός is taken or imitated, like ἀπομούσως, from the vocabulary of criticism.

797. εὐφρων...τελέσασιν *men think happily of their sufferings, when they have won success*, literally 'a toil is happy in the view of those who have well accomplished it'. Probably a proverb: for the favourite play on εὖ see on v. 557.—This is commonly joined as one sentence to v. 796, but it is almost universally admitted (see Wecklein's Appendix) that so taken it gives no satisfactory sense. A better punctuation removes the difficulty.

801—845. Agamemnon's speech has two divisions: (1) 801—820 Salutation to the gods and thanks (not very becomingly expressed) for his victory, (2) his answer to the hints of the elders; he is on his guard and intends to treat all according to their deserts. In the first part, notwithstanding the proud tone, there is a hint of exculpation in reference to the destruction of Troy; he insists upon the share of *the gods* in the work and the profits of vengeance. In the second part his selfish and imperious nature is fatally exhibited, when, with every motive to be complaisant, he takes occasion

to make a bitter attack upon those to whom he owes his triumph. The whole harangue is haughty and repulsive.

801. That Argos and the gods should be first addressed is required both by *custom* (for which sense of δίκη see L. and Sc. s.v.) and in this case by *justice*. —τοὺς ἐμοὶ μεταίτιους *who with me have contributed to etc.*, a strange form for the expression of religious gratitude.

803. πόλιν: note the emphasis on this word. The drift of this passage is to put upon the gods the destruction of the city.

804. δίκας οὐκ ἀπὸ γλώσσης *our cause argued not with the tongue*, but with the sword. Cf. δίκην εἰπεῖν *to plead a cause*.

805. ἀνδροθνήτας (δίκας) *a mortal argument, i.e. one in which was demanded the penalty of death*.—ἀνδροκμήτας Blomfield, but there is nothing against the text.—Ἴλιου φθοράς *importing the destruction of Troy*, literally 'a destruction to Troy', in apposition to δίκας, as *λοχὺς* to *πέυκη* in v. 299, and with the same adjectival force. The phrase translates the metaphor of ἀνδροθνήτας into the literal fact.—φθορὰς (Dobree) would give the same sense, *a suit of (i.e. for) destruction*.—The construction φθορὰς ψήφους-ἔθεντο (ἐψηφίσαντο), 'they voted the destruction' (Paley), is forbidden by the words ἐς αἵματηρὸν τεύχος: nor if we

ἐς αἵματηρὸν τεῦχος οὐ διχορρόπως
 ψήφους ἔθεντο· τῷ δ' ἐναντίῳ κύτει
 ἐλπὶς προσήει χειρὸς οὐ πληρουμένη.
 καπνῷ δ' ἀλούσα νῦν ἔτ' εὔσημος πόλις.
 ἄτης θύελλαι ζῶσι· συνθνήσκουσα δὲ
 σποδὸς προπέμπει πύονας πλούτου πνοάς.
 τούτων θεοῖσι χρεὴ πολύμνηστον χάριν
 τίνειν, ἐπείπερ καὶ ταγὰς ὑπερκότους

810

813. πάγας.

read *φθορὰς* can we naturally refer to *ψήφους* the words *ἀνδροθνήσας Ἴλιον φθορὰς*. The accusative *ψήφους* comes too late and too far off to govern *φθορὰς*, and the words *ἐς αἵματηρὸν τεῦχος* would be then useless and cumbrous.

806. *αἵματηρὸν τεῦχος* the bloody vessel, i.e. that which was to receive votes for the penalty of death.

807. *But to the opposite urn hope of the hand came nigh, yet it was not filled*, a quaint and fanciful but quite characteristic way of saying that the other urn expected votes but did not get them' (Sidgwick). *ἐλπὶς* with emphasis, hope only, and no actual hand with a vote.—*Ἐλπὶς προσέει χεῖρας*, 'hope waved her hand before it' as if to put votes there (Margoliouth), is so close to the MS. that it must almost be called an alternative reading of it, and the choice is a question of taste. It must be observed, however, that *προσελεῖν χεῖρα* means 'to shake the hand at, make vehement signs to', and *προσελεῖν* generally to wave something before an animal as an allurement (see L. and Sc. s.v.); neither of which associations are pertinent here. I agree with Mr Sidgwick that the common text is satisfactory.—The 'hope' refers to the long postponement of the capture by the dissensions of Olympus.—Dr Wecklein, who takes *προσελεῖ χεῖρας*, truly remarks that the plural must be referred to the repetition of the gesture of Hope each time that a vote is given.

809. A bitter jest; the city may boast itself 'conspicuous' still. *καπνῷ* with *εὔσημος*.

810. *Life in the ruin pants, while from the expiring ash is breathed a reek of richness*. *ἄτης θύελλαι ζῶσι*, literally 'in the ruin are living blasts': for *ἄτης* see v. 731. *θύελλα*, usually 'blast' of a storm, is used here as a sort of gigantic term for a 'gasp', the glowing heap being compared to a dying animal.—*συνθνήσκουσα σποδός*. When the ash is cold, the gasps of life will cease; with them therefore the ash is dying.—*πύονας πλούτου πνοάς*. The chief symbol of Eastern wealth to a Greek mind was the costly perfume imported from Asia for purposes of religion and luxury: this idea has coloured the picture here.—Hence the suggestion *θυγαῖαι censers* (Hermann), but by this what is gained to the figure in consistency is lost in picturesque force.

812. *For all this there must be paid to the gods a memorable return, even as the fine is great, which our wrath hath taken*. *ταγὰς* (M. Schmidt, see Wecklein) is, in my judgment, a certain correction. The form of the sentence, 'we should pay largely, since a great (...) also we have exacted', demands some word signifying 'payment exacted'. Now *ταγή* (extant in other senses) is simply the archaic synonym of *τάξις*, regularly used for an 'assessment', or 'payment imposed', as by a victor upon the conquered, from *τάσσειν* 'to prescribe'. The abstract nouns in *-σις*, answering to the

ἐπραξάμεσθα, καὶ γυναικὸς οὐνεκα
 πόλιν διημάθουνεν Ἀργεῖον δάκος,
 ἵππου νεοσσός, ἀσπιδηστρόφος λεώς,
 πῆδημ' ὀρούσας ἀμφὶ Πλειάδων δύσιν.

815

aorist in -σα, steadily encroached in common use upon the abstracts in -η, corresponding to the strong aorist; but there is abundant evidence that in the older language λαβή, λάχη, etc. were used with the same freedom as in the later λῆψις, λῆξις etc. They were simply the abstract nouns answering to the verbs and admitted the same range of meaning.—πάγας...ἐπραξάμεσθα is not likely to be defended; πάγας...ἐπραξάμεσθα (Hermann) *we fenced a snare* has meaning in itself but no correlation with the context.—ὑπερκόπους Heath. The words are in the MSS. almost interchangeable, but with ταγὰς ὑπερκότους *exceeding wrathful* may well stand.

815. Ἀργεῖον δάκος: the 'foal of the horse' would not usually be described as δάκος, but the expression comes down (with much of the language of this passage) from ancient tradition, when the *Argive horse* inspired the strange and superstitious terror depicted in the *Seven against Thebes* (see the Introduction to that play, § 2). The legend of the mares of Augeas, which were fed on human flesh, is a similar testimony to the formidable renown of the horse of Thessaly.

816. ἵππου νεοσσός may perhaps allude distantly to the stratagem of the wooden horse and the soldiers who came out of its belly; but this would not account (particularly as the wooden horse had little to do with the 'leveling' of Troy and no connexion with this play) for the description of the Argive people generally as 'the foal of the horse'. It is possible, I think probable, that both the *horse* here and the *lion* of v. 818 are emblematic animals, connected with Argolis and its people by some heraldic (or totemistic?) tradition. The horse was certainly an animal

typical of Argos, and according to the Argive legends was created there by Poseidon. The lion on the other hand would belong rather (as witness the gates) to Mycenae, the Homeric town of Agamemnon. Aeschylus has perhaps combined in poet's fashion two types belonging to different layers of legend. In Eur. *Supp.* 1223 the sons of *The Seven*, who under the name of the *Epigoni* avenged their fathers upon Thebes are called ἐκτεθραμμένοι σκύμνοι λεόντων, but it does not appear whether this description is applied to them specially as *Argives*. See Paley's note.

ib. ἀσπιδηστρόφος λεώς. On the large metal shield as the ancient characteristic of Argos and the Argives see *Theb.* 89 and the Introduction to that play p. xxii. The title points to a time when in metal work, especially armour, the Achaeans of the Argolid were much in advance of their neighbours.—For -στροφος (*wielders* of the shield) Wecklein refers to Soph. *Ai.* 575 διὰ πολυρράφου στρέφων πόρπακος ἐπτάβουον ἄρρηκτον σάκος.

817. ἀμφὶ Πλειάδων δύσιν *i.e.* in late autumn, early in November. "The time (Klausen observes) is mentioned which would best account for the storm before described, since between the setting and the rising of the Pleiads it was not the sailing season; see Theocr. 13. 25, and Hesiod. *Opp.* 617. Demosthenes (p. 1214) speaks of the tempests which usually followed the former event". Paley. See the Introduction.—On the recent interpretation 'at midnight' see Appendix P.—The context suggests that the season was in some way connected either with the horse or with the Argives, but the legendary foundation does not seem to be now traceable.

ὑπερβορῶν δὲ πύργον ὤμησης λέων
 ἄδην ἔλειξεν αἵματος τυραννικοῦ.
 θεοὺς μὲν ἐξέτεινα φροῖμιον τόδε· 820
 τὰ δ' ἐς τὸ σὸν φρόνημα, μέμνημαι κλύων·
 καὶ φημὶ ταῦτά καὶ συνήγορόν μ' ἔχεις.
 παύροις γὰρ ἀνδρῶν ἐστὶ συγγενὲς τόδε,
 φίλον τὸν εὐτυχοῦντ' ἄνευ φθόνων σέβειν·
 δύσφρων γὰρ ἰὸς καρδίαν προσήμενος 825
 ἄχθος διπλοῖζει τῷ πεπαμένῳ νόσον,
 τοῖς τ' αὐτὸς αὐτοῦ πῆμασιν βαρύνεται
 καὶ τὸν θυραῖον ὄλβον εἰσορών στένει.
 εἰδὼς λέγοιμ' ἄν· εὖ γὰρ ἐξεπίσταμαι
 ὁμιλίας κάτοπτρον, εἰδῶλον σκιᾶς, 830

822. ταῦτα.

826. πεπαμένῳ.

819. αἵματος τυραννικοῦ: an expression significant to some of his hearers.

820. θεοὺς μὲν ἐξέτεινα: 'So far my first word to the *gods*, which I have not scanted'. In ἐξέτεινα (*I have made long*) there is the thought that on such an occasion a brief salutation would be inadequate. See the same conception turned satirically in *v.* 907.

821. τὰ...φρόνημα *but as to the matter of your own feelings* (see *vv.* 776—800).—μέμνημαι κλύων *I remember what I have heard*. He refers plainly to intimations of the disaffection at home which had reached him before his return and on his first arrival at the coast. That he should have heard something would naturally be supposed, and is in fact required to account for his bearing. This allusion gives the key. (It is unnatural and unnecessary to suppose him to mean that he remembers what was said a few minutes ago.)

822. συνήγορόν μ' ἔχεις *you have in me a supporter of your accusation*, a συνήγορον in the proper Attic sense of the term (see *L.* and *Sc. s.v.*). These words must not be weakened into a mere repetition of φημὶ ταῦτά by taking συνήγορον for 'agreeing with'. What the

elders have spoken is an accusation, not the less menacing because general, against their fellow townsmen (see particularly their last words *vv.* 798—800). The king declares himself on their side, determined to investigate and to punish (*v.* 839), and his threats do not fall to the ground.

824. φίλον: a predicate, as the emphasis shows: φίλον σέβειν *to admire kindly*.—φθόνων *envious feelings, envying, inclination to envy*. The plural φθόνοι makes a class-term 'what is like envy', as in Plato, *Philebus* 40 Ε περὶ φόβων καὶ θυμῶν καὶ πάντων τῶν τοιούτων. The difference from φθόνος is perceptible and it is highly improbable that the rare plural is an error.—φθόνον *h.* ψόγον Stobaeus.

826. τῷ πεπαμένῳ νόσον *him that has aught amiss with him*. In νόσον, a word of very wide and vague signification in Greek poetry, the two ideas of *distress* and *vice* here merge.—πεπαμένῳ Porson.

830. ὁμιλίας κάτοπτρον *the mirror of friendship, i.e.* the false friendship which is to the genuine as the reflexion to the reality, or, as he puts it with angry exaggeration, as the reflexion of a shadow to the shadow itself.—δοκούντας: the example (the pretended friends of Agamemnon) is put in apposition to the

δοκοῦντας εἶναι κάρτα πρευμενεῖς ἐμοί.
 μόνος δ' Ὀδυσσεύς, ὅσπερ οὐχ ἑκὼν ἔπλει,
 ζευχθεὶς ἔτοιμος ἦν ἐμοὶ σειραφόρος·
 εἴτ' οὖν θανόντος εἶτε καὶ ζῶντος πέρι
 λέγω. τὰ δ' ἄλλα πρὸς πόλιν τε καὶ θεοὺς
 κοινούς ἀγῶνας θέντες ἐν πανηγύρει
 βουλευσόμεσθα. καὶ τὸ μὲν καλῶς ἔχον
 ὅπως χρονίζον εὖ μενεῖ βουλευτέον·
 ὅτῳ δὲ καὶ δεῖ φαρμάκων παιωνίων,
 ἥτοι κέαντες ἢ τεμόντες εὐφρόνως
 πειρασόμεσθα πήματος τρέφαι νόσον.
 νῦν δ' ἐς μέλαθρα καὶ δόμους ἐφεστίους

835

840

general conception which it illustrates.—All this language, though ostensibly directed against the absent, and in this aspect forcibly exhibiting the character of the man, is full of menace for those about him.

832. ὅσπερ κτλ. If you would have good service from men, you must ride them hard. Such is the suggested moral.—Odysseus was entrapped by Palamedes into accompanying the expedition.

834. εἴτ' οὖν...λέγω. Note the emphasis given by the rhythm to λέγω, which is properly a separate clause in itself; with εἴτ' οὖν...περί another λέγω is supplied; *That I will say for him, living or dead*.—Another most unhappy remark. It is not the moment to remind the people, especially without a word of sympathy, that after all the losses of the war most of the returning army have probably perished at sea.

836. ἀγῶνας: ἀγοράς, *meetings*.

839. ὅτῳ δὲ καὶ δεῖ. ὅτῳ is neuter, *what must have remedy*, answering antithetically to τὸ καλῶς ἔχον. What 'kind lancet or cautery' may be needed to remove the peccant humours of the body politic will not be spared. The grim speciousness of εὐφρόνως reminds us of Antony's ironical question to the murderers of Caesar, 'Who else must be let blood, who else is rank?'

841. πήματος τρέφαι νόσον *to defeat the mischief of the sore*, or (as Porson) πῆμ' ἀποστρέφαι νόσου *to avert the harm of the ailment*. It cannot be admitted that the MS. reading here is impossible or even strange. νόσον πήματος *the ailment or mischief of the sore* is a simple expression. For πῆμα see Soph. *Ai.* 582 τομῶν πῆμα, a tumour that 'craves the knife'. And it will be observed that the metaphor, as the previous line shows, is from surgery not from medicine. τρέφαι *to defeat* (see τροπή) is of course not a phrase which would have been used in prose, or even by most poets, but it is in the manner of Aeschylus thus to load the imagery with a metaphor within a metaphor. Moreover there is often a tendency in metaphorical language to fall back in the direction of the literal; and when the king speaks metaphorically of 'lancing or cauterizing' the state, what he really means is that with the support of his friends he will 'defeat' his enemies and theirs. It is not unnatural therefore that the word *defeat*, though not very suitable to his surgical metaphor, should come into his mind. The reading of Porson has been frequently followed, but it is not inserted in some recent texts (*e.g.* Wecklein 1885; Paley also expresses doubt) and I prefer to give it as a possible alternative.—Wecklein in the text of 1885

ἐλθὼν θεοῖσι πρῶτα δεξιῶσομαι,
οἵπερ πρόσω πέμψαντες ἤγαγον πάλιν.
νίκη δ' ἐπέπερ ἔσπετ', ἐμπέδως μένοι.

845

ΚΛ. ἄνδρες πολῖται, πρέσβος Ἀργείων τόδε,
οὐκ αἰσχυνοῦμαι τοὺς φιλάνορας τρόπους
λέξαι πρὸς ὑμᾶς· ἐν χρόνῳ δ' ἀποφθίνει
τὸ τάρβος ἀνθρώποισιν. οὐκ ἄλλων πάρα
μαθοῦς' ἐμαυτῆς δύσφορον λέξω βίου
τοσόνδ' ὅσουςπερ οὗτος ἦν ὑπ' Ἰλίου.
τὸ μὲν γυναῖκα πρῶτον ἄρσενος δίχα
ἦσθαι δόμοις ἔρημον ἔκπαυλον κακόν,
πολλὰς κλύουσιν ἡδονὰς παλιγκότους...

850

punctuated thus πειρασόμεσθα πῆματος, τρέψαι νόσον, but in that of 1887 gives Porson's correction.

845. Significant again. He is aware that ἐτ' εἰς' ἀγῶνες, that he has still enemies to encounter at home.—The whole of the last part of the speech would be on the stage extremely effective. All the auditors are agreed that τὸ καλῶς ἔχον ὅπως χρονίζον εὖ μενεῖ βουλευτέον (cf. v. 362) and on the necessity of 'surgery' for the good of the state, only there is a difference of opinion as to the sense of these expressions. The king speaks as he does because, not having a glimpse of the plot against him, he naturally believes himself irresistible and gives the rein to his indignation.

846. As the king makes to enter, the queen attended by her women (v. 899) comes from the palace. Her address, like her message by the herald, is in effect a self-defence, better prepared but not much more successful. The very depth of her respect (she says) prevents her from addressing the king, so she turns to the assembly and principally to the elders, with whom long association has made her familiar.

849. οὐκ ἄλλων πάρα μαθοῦσα: 'my own witness to my conduct will not be hearsay, such as that by which I am perhaps accused'.

852. ἄρσενος δίχα ἦσθαι δόμοις ἔρημον that she should alone without the man fill the throne of the house (cf. v. 271 τειν γυναῖκ' ἐρημωθέντος ἄρσενος θρόνου) bearing the weight of the sole responsibility. See also next note.

854: hearing many persistent flatteries, i.e. besieged by tempters. ἡδονὰς δούρειας, compliments, πρὸς ἡδονὴν λεγόμενα, 'what is spoken to please'. Herodotus (7. 101 κότερα ἀληθελή χρῆσομαι ἢ ἡδονῇ; Shall I use frankness or flattery?) has the word in a sense very nearly approaching this, which, being both archaic and colloquial, would not be likely to occur often in our collection, even if it was once common enough. Nothing is more likely than that a word which properly meant agreeableness or something agreeable should take this meaning in Greek as in French. The epithet παλιγκότους implies that the flattery was unwelcome but irrepressible.—Clytemnestra just glances at the firmness of her virtue. Then, feeling the peril of the subject, she passes rapidly to another, and presently (v. 865) contrives to bring in her words again with a slight but transfiguring change, as if it were κληδόνας, and not really ἡδονὰς at all, which she had said, precisely as in v. 866 she twists to a new meaning the words of v. 862. In both places the explana-

καὶ τὸν μὲν ἤκειν τὸν δ' ἐπεισφέρειν κακοῦ
 κάκιον ἄλλο πῆμα λάσκοντας δόμοις.
 καὶ τραυμάτων μὲν εἰ τόσων ἐτύγγανεν
 ἀνὴρ ὅδ', ὥς πρὸς οἶχον ὠχετεύετο
 φάτις, τέτρηται δικτύου πλέω λέγειν·
 εἰ δ' ἦν τεθνηκώς, ὥς ἐπλήθυνον λόγοι,
 τρισώματός τ' αὖ Γηρυὼν ὁ δεύτερος
 πολλήν—ἄνωθεν, τὴν κάτω γὰρ οὐ λέγω—

855

860

859. φάσις(?) τέτρωται.

tion is the same. At this last fearful crisis she really is afraid of her own words and unable for some minutes to steady her mind.—Such I believe to be the solution of this critical difficulty. To write *κληδόνας* for *ἡδονάς* (Auratus) is obvious but arbitrary. To condemn *v.* 854 as spurious is much more plausible, but still unsatisfactory, as there is no adequate motive for the interpolation. The occurrence in the immediate context of a phenomenon equally and similarly peculiar is a strong argument that the text is genuine, and that we should seek an explanation in the special circumstances and the position of the speaker.

855: *while one comes after another brought to the house loud tidings of woe each worse than the last.* τὸν μὲν ἤκειν τὸν δ' ἐπεισφέρειν. This is again an example of what has been noticed at *vv.* 360 and 575, the separation into an explicit antithesis in Greek of what in English would be presented as one compound notion. Literally it is 'that one should be arrived and another bring in addition', *i.e.* 'that the arriving of one (messenger) should be followed by the bringing' etc. It is also idiomatic in such an antithesis to leave, as here, one side elliptical, supplying the defect from the other (see *v.* 784). English habit would expect (see Paley) τὸν μὲν ἤκειν φέροντα κακόν, τὸν δὲ κάκιον ἄλλο ἐπεισφέρειν.—ἐπεισφέρειν Wecklein, *i.e.* 'that each new crier of disastrous news should be let in by his predecessor, so quickly

they followed' (see *εἰσφέρειν*). The rhetorical expression is extremely vivid and forcible, and it must be allowed that *ἐπεισφέρειν* would probably appear in our MS. as *ἐπεισφέρειν*. But is it not more natural that τὸν μὲν should be the first comer, τὸν δὲ the second? In Dr Wecklein's text the parts are of course changed. However I would leave the question open.

857. τραυμάτων μὲν: note the order; *As for wounds, etc.*

858. ὠχετεύετο: rumour 'came in by channels'.

859. τέτρηται Ahrens (see *τείρω*, *τρήμα*), an almost necessary correction. A net has 'holes' but not 'wounds'.—πλέω λέγειν: 'more to count' *i.e.* *in number*.—"The cold-blooded phrase suits Klytaemnestra" and is the more horrible as suggesting a vision of the sequel.

860. ἐπλήθυνον Porson, as the regular form. But in view of the double use, transitive and intransitive, of *θαρσύνω*, it does not seem certain that *πληθύνω* was not, rightly or wrongly, used as the text suggests.

860—64. He might have boasted many times as many burials as a three-bodied Geryon, who died once in each shape. For 'burial' she uses the phrase 'to cloak oneself in earth', γῆν ἐπέσασθαι Theogn. 429, Homer *Il.* 3. 57.—(ἄνωθεν, τὴν κάτω γὰρ οὐ λέγω) meaning *the coverlet merely; I say nothing of the bed.* ἡ κάτω χλαῖνα, in relation to the figure of burial, would be the earth on

χθονὸς τρίμοιρον χλαῖναν ἐξηύχει λαβών,
 ἅπαξ ἐκάστῳ κατθανὼν μορφώματι.
 τοιῶνδ' ἕκατι κληδόνων παλιγκότων
 πολλὰς ἄνωθεν ἀρτάνας ἐμῆς δέρης
 ἔλυσαν ἄλλοι πρὸς βίαν λελημμένης.

865

867. λελημμένης.

which the dead lay, as opposed to the earth laid upon him (Wecklein compares *Theb.* 931 ὑπὸ δὲ σώματι γὰς πλοῦτος ἄβυσσος ἔσται). I believe (see on *v.* 854) that Hermann is right in defending this disputed verse, and Dr Wecklein in his remark that 'the confused expression marks the disturbance in Clytaemestra's thoughts'. In fact her tongue trips, or rather the pressure of her secret makes her fear that it has tripped, and in trying to safe-guard herself she makes the matter worse. The mention of the 'net', of the 'wounds' and 'burial', is to her so frightfully significant that she doubts for a moment, without reason but very naturally, whether it will not raise suspicion in others. She therefore tries to take back the reference to burial, inserting 'when I say mantle of earth, I mean just *mantle* upon him; I could not think of his last *bed*'. Of course this is nonsense, but it is perhaps none the worse for that. In the same spirit immediately afterwards (*v.* 866) she makes upon this πολλὴν ἄνωθεν a sort of forced and far-fetched play. In short even Clytaemestra for a moment is nervous and not mistress of her thoughts.

863. ἐξηύχει λαβών: 'he might have boasted a triple mantle of earth *assumed*'. λαβών literally 'having taken it on him'. —With λαβεῖν (suggested by Paley) the expression is less picturesque.

865. παλιγκότων *persistent*, i.e. ever-recurring, never-quieted. The word also implies that the reports were bad, but this is a secondary part of the meaning. See on *vv.* 576, 854.

866. πολλὰς ἄνωθεν ἀρτάνας *many a hanging noose*. The explanation of this

phrase (which has been without reason suspected) is that ἀρτάνη, which is but imperfectly rendered by the English *noose*, really means 'thing suspending', 'that by which something is hung up (ἤρτηται)', more nearly *hitch*. Like other quasi-verbal nouns it can in Aeschylus take an adverb construed with the implied verbal notion: ἄνωθεν ἀρτάνη is literally 'a thing which *hangs up*'. Aeschylus would probably not have written πολλοὺς ἄνωθεν βρόχους, but ἄνωθεν ἀρτάνας is different. It is but slightly bolder than ἐκφορὰ φίλων ὑπο *Theb.* 1015.—δέρης 'from my neck', ἔλυσαν taking the construction of ἀπέλυσαν.—The forced parallel with πολλὴν ἄνωθεν above can scarcely be reproduced in translation.

867. πρὸς βίαν λελημμένης (ἐμοῦ), *preventing my eagerness*, i.e. my desperate desire to die, literally 'in despite of me eager'. (Ahrens, Blomfield.) Cf. *Theb.* 367 μάχης λελημένος and see L. and Sc. s. *v.* ληπτομαι. The same misspelling occurs in *Theb.* 342 λελημένοι for λελημένον.—This correction is trivial and, I think, certain. Of the two proposed renderings for πρὸς βίαν λελημμένης, (1), supplying ἐμοῦ, 'of me violently seized (by them)' would require "ληφθείσης the *act*, not λελημμένης the *state*" (S.) and, we may add, would be idiomatically expressed not by a passive participle at all (the Latin fashion), but by πρὸς βίαν λαβόντες: and (2), supplying δέρης, 'my neck, caught violently in the noose', gives λαβεῖν a forced meaning and makes the whole pointless. Nor does either adequately represent πρὸς βίαν, which, though it might mean merely *with violence*, does by convention regularly mean 'with violence

ἐκ τῶνδ' ἐνθάδ' οὐ παραστατεῖ,
 ἐμῶν τε καὶ σῶν κύριος πιστευμάτων,
 ὡς χρῆν, Ὀρέστης· μηδὲ θαυμάσης τόδε.
 τρέφει γὰρ αὐτὸν εὐμενὴς δορύξενος
 Στρώφιος ὁ Φωκεύς, ἀμφίλεκτα πῆματα
 ἐμοὶ προφωνῶν, τὸν θ' ὑπ' Ἰλίου σέθεν
 κίνδυνον, εἴ τε δημόθρους ἀναρχία

870

to some one' 'in despite of', so much so that with ἔλυσαν ἄλλοι πρὸς βίαν an ἐμοῦ is naturally supplied, and the following participle, to satisfy the ear, can only complete by antithesis the meaning of πρὸς βίαν. All the other corrections, ἐνημένης, ἀνειμένης etc., are open to the same or some of the same objections, besides being technically inferior to that of Ahrens and Blomfield, which is indeed a mere alternative reading of the MS.

868. The manner in which Clytaemnestra deals with this suspicious circumstance, the absence of her son Orestes, is skilful. Here at least she says there can be no doubt of her honesty (τοιαύδε σκῆψις οὐ δόλον φέρει): if she had been disloyal to the king she would never have sent his heir out of her control. The argument is sound; the flaw is in the assumed facts, as to which she trusts that the king is not yet informed. The true facts relating to Orestes, as supposed by Aeschylus, have to be gathered from indications, for us rather slight and obscure, in the *Choephori*, and will be best considered in dealing with that play.

869. ἐμῶν...πιστευμάτων who should best make confidence between me and thee. Κύριος followed by a genitive signifies 'having power over', or 'qualified in' the matter described; thus κύριος θανάτου is 'having power of death', power to inflict the penalty of death, and similarly κύριος περὶ τινος, κύριος ποιεῖν τι means 'qualified in respect of...', 'qualified to do...'. See L. and Sc. s. v. Thus κύριος πιστευμάτων is literally 'qualified in the matter of confidence', 'qualified to make confidence', where πίστευμα confidence is the

abstract from πιστεύω to trust, and the plural confidences gives the meaning mutual confidence. — πιστωμάτων i. e. pledges Spanheim, Hermann, and many texts. With deference to much authority, I must hold this change mistaken. Orestes was himself a πίστωμα between his parents, but being a πίστωμα he was κύριος πιστευμάτων. The proper meaning of κύριος πιστωμάτων would be 'qualified to give a pledge', 'qualified to deal with a pledge', or the like. We have also to notice that πίστευμα, though a perfectly correct and natural form, is very rare, apparently unique, and little likely therefore to be substituted for πίστωμα, which occurs not seldom.

871. τρέφει γὰρ αὐτὸν he is under the separate care of Strophios, literally 'Str. is taking care of him by himself': αὐτός is as usual emphatic.

872. ἀμφίλεκτα...προφωνῶν suggesting to me future trouble in two shapes. ἀμφίλεκτα properly 'divided into two counts' in the sense of 'heads' or 'divisions' in a subject, as in the technical phrase 'counts of an indictment'. (So also Wecklein.)

873. τὸν τε...ἐν τε. These are two dangers, not parts of the same: (1) Agamemnon might die at Troy, in which case his youthful heir would need protection against rebels or ambitious kinsmen; (2) without the king's death, his mere absence and the weakness of the regency might encourage the unruly 'to risk a plot'. To the last enterprise especially the impossibility of seizing the heir would be a great discouragement. The insinuation of this danger is the

βουλὴν καταρρίψειεν, ὥστε σύγγονον
βροτοῖσι τὸν πεσόντα λακτίσαι πλέον.
τοιάδε μέντοι σκῆψις οὐ δόλον φέρει.
ἔμοιγε μὲν δὴ κλαυμάτων ἐπίσσυτοι
πηγαὶ κατεσβήκασιν, οὐδ' ἐνὶ σταγῶν.
ἐν ὀφικοῖτοισι δ' ὄμμασιν κλάβας ἔχω,

875

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more telling because, to a certain extent and with a different aim, it has actually taken effect.

875. βουλὴν καταρρίψειεν *should hazard a plot against me*; Blomfield. Cf. ῥίπτειν κίνδυνον, a metaphor from the throwing of dice, ῥίπτειν κύβευμα. For βουλή, cf. Andocides 9. 4 διὰ ταῦτα εἶπον τῇ βουλῇ (I told the council) ὅτι εἰδείην τοὺς ποιήσοντας, καὶ ἐξήλεξα τὰ γενόμενα, ὅτι εἰσηγήσατο μὲν πινόντων ἡμῶν ταύτην τὴν βουλὴν (proposed this plot) Εὐφίλητος, ἀντίειπον δὲ ἐγὼ κτλ., a passage which shows not only that this sense was in use, but also that it was not affected by the technical use of ἡ βουλή at Athens. A prose writer would doubtless not have said ῥίψαι βουλὴν for ῥίψαι κίνδυνον βουλῆς, but such extensions of the 'inner' or cognate accusative are frequent in poetry. The alternative translation 'should throw down the council', i.e. overthrow the government of the queen and her advisers, is not admissible; (1) βουλή without explanation could not bear in a poem dealing with heroic times this technical meaning; τὴν βουλὴν at least would be required; (2) the play, true to the ancient and Homeric conception of authority, does not suppose anything like a formal Council of regency. The elders never speak of themselves as such, though Aeschylus knew what such a thing was and can describe it clearly enough (see the opening of the *Persae*, the chorus of which actually is such a council); (3) the uses, literal and metaphorical, of ῥίψαι (*fling*) do not justify the translation *unseat, overthrow*, which would be καταλύσαι or possibly καταβαλεῖν. Thus ἐκβαλεῖν τινα τῆς ἀρχῆς is proper but not ἐκρίψαι,

καταβαλεῖν τινα ἀπὸ τοῦ ἔππου but not καταρρίψαι. And in any case we should require from the context some indication of that *from which* (e.g. ἀρχῆς, κράτους) the council was flung down. Without this καταρρίψαι τὴν βουλὴν could mean, if anything, only 'to execute the council' by flinging them into some βάραθρον.—βουλὴν καταρράψειεν Scaliger, 'should devise a plot', is good sense, but, as I think, an unnecessary change.—ὥστε: ὥς, as indeed.

877. μέντοι *however*, i.e. 'though his presence would be our best assurance, the explanation of his absence is transparently honest and an assurance in itself'.

878. μὲν δὴ dismissing irrelevancies and coming to the gist of the matter.

880. κλάβας *eye-sores*. I do not see reason to reject this word. The representation of the *f* by *β* is in the Doric and Aeolic dialects frequent and regular (φάβος = φάφος, ὤβρα = ὤφρα ὠά etc.). From κλαφ- (cf. κλαῦμα) the regular formation in these dialects would be κλάβ-α. The language of poetry preserves many dialectic forms, either for convenience, as Sophocles uses μέσσος, or because the words came into literature or use from a dialectic source. A similar instance is νεβρός, commonly referred to the root (νεφ-) of νέος. The nouns in -η from verb-stems, originally abstracts, describing a process, are regularly extended to the *effect* of the process, e.g. πλοκή *plaiting, wreath*, δίκη *pointing, way*, etc.: and κλάβη therefore is the *sore* produced in running eyes. It was perhaps some more or less distinct consciousness of its origin which led the poet to use it here (note κλαίονσα).—The

τὰς ἀμφί σοι κλαίουσα λαμπτηρουχίας
 ἀτημελήτους αἰέν. ἐν δ' ὀνειράσιν
 λεπταῖς ὑπαὶ κώνωπος ἐξηγειρόμην
 ῥιπαῖσι θωύσσοντος, ἀμφί σοι πάθη
 ὀρώσα πλείω τοῦ ξυνεύδοντος χρόνου.
 νῦν ταῦτα πάντα τλᾶσ', ἀπενθήτω φρενὶ,
 λέγοιμ' ἂν ἄνδρα τόνδε τῶν σταθμῶν κύνα,

885

Farnesian editor substitutes βλάβας, but M, it is clear, had κλάβας, which is not in itself likely to be an error for βλάβας and, so far as I can judge, is not open to any suspicion.

881. τὰς ἀμφί σοι λαμπτηρουχίας. The exact meaning of this is a matter of conjecture. From the analogy of other like words (δαδουχία, λαμπαδουχία etc.) we should suppose that λαμπτηρουχία was the *function* of λαμπτηροῦχοι or *torch-bearers* and ἡ ἀμφί τινι λαμπτηρουχία *attendance upon a person as a torch-bearer*. Many words of this type e.g. σκηπτοῦχος, κληδοῦχος, εὐνοῦχος, etc. describe *offices* and the performance of them. Taking the word with the context it would seem to mean naturally 'attending the king with torches' to his chamber, the *deductio* in fact, which has been in all times so important a part of savage and barbaric state. ἀτημελήτους, *neglected*, would, as applied to a practice of ceremony, naturally mean 'disused'. The queen *wept*, as she would say, *for thine attendance of torch-bearers neglected still*, i.e. that the king came no more with the accustomed state to his chamber.—Other explanations offered are (1) that the beacons (see above v. 293) were neglected, i.e. not lit, for want of cause to light them, (2) that the watch-fires lighted in the house in expectation of the king's return 'were disregarded', i.e. he did not come (Sidgwick). But neither *beacons* nor *watch-fires* adequately renders λαμπτηρουχίαι, which must be something different from λαμπτήρες. Metaphorically no doubt the succession of beacons is compared to a

torch-race or λαμπαδηφορία, and for this λαμπτηρουχία might be inaccurately used. But it is one thing to use λαμπαδηφορία as an illustration (with explanation) of the system of beacons, and another thing to use the word, or rather a different and much less suitable word, as a name for beacons and without explanation. And, as Mr Sidgwick says, *neglected* is not *unlit*; *neglected* is just what, during the king's absence, signal-beacons would not have been. (I say nothing as to the impossibility on general grounds of a reference to the supposed beacons in this place.) To 'watch-fires' my only objection is the improper form of the word λαμπτηρουχία, and perhaps that during a campaign of ten years at such a distance as Troy preparations for the king's unannounced return would hardly be made every night.

883. λεπταῖς, emphasized by displacement in the sentence, *lightest*.—ὑπαὶ κώνωπος together; ῥιπαῖσι with θωύσσοντος. The construction of ὑπὸ with dative of agent is not certified in Aeschylus (Wecklein mentions *Theb.* 915, but justly holds that that case is distinguishable).

885. τοῦ...χρόνου i.e. the time of my sleeping. 'The personifying instinct pervades the language of Aeschylus' (Sidgwick).

886. ἀπενθήτω is distinguishable from ἀπενθής. The passive form, in its full force, means 'relieved from grief' (*disgrieved* so to speak, 'made ἀπενθής').

887. τῶν σταθμῶν κύνα literally, 'of the fold a dog', i.e. *what a dog is to the fold*. The article, proper and necessary

σωτήρα ναὸς πρότονον, ὑψηλῆς στέγης
 στῦλον ποδῆρη, μονογενὲς τέκνον πατρί,
 καὶ γῆν φανείσαν ναυτίλοις παρ' ἐλπίδα,
 κάλλιστον ἡμαρ εἰσιδεῖν ἐκ χείματος,
 ὁδοιπόρῳ διψῶντι πηγαῖον ῥέος—
 τερπνὸν δὲ τὰναγκαῖον ἐκφυγεῖν ἅπαν'
 τοιοῖσδέ τοίινυ ἀξιώ προσφθέγμασιν.

890

889. στόλον.

to the full sense, should in strictness have been repeated throughout the catalogue, τῶν μὲν σταθμῶν κύνα, τῆς δὲ ναὸς πρότονον, τῆς δὲ στέγης στῦλον, κτλ., and so a prose-writer would have written. But in poetry the logical completeness of this is naturally sacrificed to euphony: with σωτήρα ναὸς πρότονον we supply τῆς ναός, and so on.—The corrections here (*e.g.* τόνδ' ἐγώ Weil) assume that τῶν is incorrect, whereas what is incorrect, though poetically necessary, is the absence of the article afterwards.

889. **στῦλον.** M had probably the misspelling **στοῖλον**.—**στόλον** h.

890. **καὶ** *or again*. The conjunction "has offended many editors, as the other nouns are unconnected; but Klausen and Schneidewin are no doubt right in saying that it connects 887—889, which describe the *protection* and *security* afforded by the master, with 890—892, which describe the delight of his unhopèd-for return. The transition from one set to the other is marked by **καὶ**." Sidgwick. To which I would add that this laboured list is not to be judged as if it were a real natural flow of emotion. Its eloquence is forced; and this recommencement is just such a touch as betrays it. In fact the whole of this oration, with all its poetical merits, appears to me, regarded as a piece of acting on the part of Clytemnestra, a mistake and a failure; and so, I believe, the dramatist intended. It is impossible that any one should make a successful speech in such a situation, though it is natural enough that the queen should try. As the king severely

and truly remarks, she is much too long. Genuine feeling would not have spoken as many words as Clytemnestra speaks verses. Upon Agamemnon she does not and could not make the slightest impression. But she attains the real object of her appearance before the palace, when the king is compelled to accept the perfidious compliment of the tapestry.

891: *dawn as it looks the fairest, after storm*. The superlative, though much criticized, seems correct, and indeed almost necessary. This allusion to the recent recollections of the voyagers is the queen's best hit, but she spoils it by continuing the catalogue.

893—4: literally, 'but relief is sweet in everything; *such like* then are the titles with which I express my praise', *i.e.* 'as the types of deliverance, such as the foregoing, are infinite in number, I take them in the sum and mean them all'. The turn of the sentence here is so unlike what is possible to a non-inflected language as to make translation extremely difficult. The cardinal point is the emphasis on **τοιούσδε**, emphasized in respect of its difference from **τούσδε**. The queen's copiousness, as is the danger of unreal eloquence, has plainly overrun itself and reached a point at which it is equally ineffective either to go on or to stop. With **πηγαῖον ῥέος** her declamation is in no way rounded off, and yet one or two more **προσφθέγματα** would undoubtedly carry her over the edge of the sublime. Perforce therefore she generalizes, and concludes in fact with an *et cetera*. Thus a fine piece of verse is certainly

φθόνος δ' ἀπέστω· πολλὰ γὰρ τὰ πρὶν κακὰ 895
 ἡνειχόμεσθα. νῦν δέ μοι, φίλον κára,
 ἔκβαιν' ἀπήνης τῆσδε, μὴ χαμαὶ τιθεῖς
 τὸν σὸν πόδ', ὦναξ, Ἰλίου πορθήτορα.
 δμῳαί, τί μέλλεθ', αἷς ἐπέσταλται τέλος 900
 πέδον κελεύθου στρωννύναι πετάσμασιν;
 εὐθὺς γενέσθω πορφυρόστρωτος πόρος,
 ἐς δῶμ' ἄελπτον ὡς ἂν ῥγῇται δίκη.

898. ἄναξ.

spoiled, but we must add that it was made for the purpose. Aeschylus was not so poor in images that he could not purchase a piece of truth at the cost of a few sounding lines.—ἀξιῶ: 'to hold in value', then 'to pronounce valuable', and so, as here, 'to praise, honour,' both of things and persons, cf. Eur. *Or.* 1210 καλοῖσιν ὑμεναίοισιν ἀξιουμένη, *Hec.* 319, and see L. and Sc. s.v. The verb has not strictly any object; it is used, as any transitive verb may be, absolutely; see e.g. *v.* 1182 φρενώσω δ' οὐκέτ' ἐξ αἰνιγμάτων *my teaching shall be no longer enigmatic*; so here, *my praise bestows titles like these*. But in effect the object is ἄνδρα τόνδε supplied from the foregoing period (*v.* 887) of which this line is really a part.—See further Appendix Q.

895. φθόνος δ' ἀπέστω *i.e.* the excess of my joy, after what I have suffered, does not deserve rebuke. According to Greek religious feeling the display of human happiness was itself a provocation to fortune.

896. At a sign from the queen the path to the house is strown with crimson embroidered tapestries, properly used for religious processions and ceremonies, over which the king is invited to walk. The urgency of Clytaemnestra in forcing him to accept this homage has a motive more direct and simple than the chance of exposing him to the jealousy of Fate. It is designed for the people, upon whose conduct in a few minutes the lives of the

queen and her partisans may depend. To stimulate discontent and discourage loyalty is of vital moment. By the queen's arrangement, what the murmuring spectators see is that the returned τύραννος enters his palace with a kind of pomp shocking to Hellenic eyes (see on *v.* 938). His reluctance, even if taken for genuine, could only be appreciated by the immediate bystanders. It is like Gracchus pointing to his head, only that in this case the ill effect is designed. To Aeschylus the scene may perhaps have been suggested by the fate of Pausanias, one of whose gravest offences was his adoption of Oriental ceremony.

898. τὸν σὸν πόδ'. Elision of substantives and adjectives having the quantity ~ is very rare in tragic verse, and by Aeschylus and Sophocles scarcely allowed except under peculiar conditions. Their regular use is as in *v.* 887 κύνα, *v.* 895 κακά. As to the details see *Journal of Philology* XII. p. 136. The exceptions are about 3 per cent: In the iambic verse of Aeschylus this is the only one sufficiently attested. (On *P. V.* 355 δώσειν Δί', and *Eum.* 902 κατὰ χθόν' οὔσα, see the article cited.) What justifies it to the ear will appear to be this, that in the phrase τὸν σὸν πόδα following χαμαὶ τιθεῖς the noun, being anticipated and so to speak 'discounted', has no weight, while on the other hand what is lost by curtailment to πόδα goes to increase the stress upon σόν, on which the meaning depends,—*that foot, O king, which thou hast set upon Troy*.

τὰ δ' ἄλλα φροντὶς οὐχ ὕπνω νικωμένη
θήσει, δικαίως (σὺν θεοῖς) εἰμαρμένα.

- ΑΓ. Λήδας γένεθλον, δωμάτων ἐμῶν φύλαξ, 905
ἀπουσία μὲν εἴπας εἰκότως ἐμῇ·
μακρὰν γὰρ ἐξέτεινας· ἀλλ' ἐναισίμως
αἰνεῖν, παρ' ἄλλων χρή τόδ' ἔρχεσθαι γέρας.
καὶ τᾶλλα μὴ γυναικὸς ἐν τρόποις ἐμὲ 910
ἄβρυνε, μηδὲ βαρβάρου φωτὸς δίκην
χαμαιπετὲς βόαμα προσχάνης ἐμοί,
μηδ' εἵμασι στρώσας' ἐπίφθονον πόρον
τίθει· θεοὺς τοι τοῖσδε τιμαλφεῖν χρεών,

910. βαρβάθον.

902. ἀέλπτον...δίκη with ironic intention, meaning ostensibly *scarce-hoped for* ...due ceremony, but for those informed *unexpected...vengeance*.

903. φροντὶς οὐχ ὕπνω νικωμένη an expression not lost upon those privy to the secret of the queen's night-watch. Ostensibly it is a compliment to the 'open eyes' of the king, and τὰ δ' ἄλλα in fact recalls the conclusion of his speech (v. 835), which she hears as she enters.

ib. The rest a watchfulness that never sleeps shall order as just providence, I trust, intends, literally 'shall order, they being, I trust, justly fated', an expression of pious reliance upon heaven to show the right in the king's threatened investigation. So the words must be grouped, if the reading is right: *θήσει εἰμαρμένα* is scarcely a possible expression.—*θεοῖσιν ἄρμενα* Meineke, Wecklein, where *θήσει ἄρμενα* is 'shall order them fitly'.

905. Agamemnon dismisses the queen's salutation (which he does not vouchsafe to return) with a sarcasm, and sternly rebukes her for the untimely pomp, of which he more than suspects the malicious motive (v. 912). Of his danger he has not a suspicion, nor does it lie in any of the facts which he knows or divines, but in the existence of the plot and the pre-

parations of the conspirators. See the Introduction. *Λήδας γένεθλον*: a significant opening. Clytaemnestra was the daughter of one false wife and the sister of another, and her husband, who calls her by no other name or title but this, neither 'wife', nor 'queen', nor even 'Clytaemnestra', gives her to know that he has not forgotten the fact. Cf. *Ov. Her.* 16. 291 (Paris to Helen) *vix fieri, si sunt vires in semine avorum, | et Iovis et Ledaee filia, casta potes*. Euripides (if it be he, *Iph. A.* 686) makes Agamemnon use the same title, among others, without special intention; but that he should select it at such a moment as this, and avoid every other, is not to be supposed accidental.

909. ἐμὲ...ἐμοί: 'me, who have no taste for such things, however the habits of my house may have been changed for the worse in my absence'. See on v. 918. —*ἐν τρόποις*: ἐν of circumstance. My former suggestion *τροφαῖς* I mention only to retract.

910. βαρβάθον (f, and probably M) is an odd error but seems to be merely accidental.

911: literally 'make open-mouthed grovelling clamour in honour of me'.

913. *τίθει* with emphasis, 'do not invite jealousy' at a time when it is specially to be shunned.

ἐν ποικίλοις δὲ θνητὸν ὄντα κάλλεσιν
 βαίνειν ἐμοὶ μὲν οὐδαμῶς ἄνευ φόβου. 915
 λέγω κατ' ἄνδρα, μὴ θεόν, σέβειν ἐμέ.
 χωρὶς ποδοψήστρων τε καὶ τῶν ποικίλων
 κληδὼν ἀντεῖ· καὶ τὸ μὴ κακῶς φρονεῖν
 θεοῦ μέγιστον δῶρον. ὀλβίσαι δὲ χρὴ
 βίον τελευτήσαντ' ἐν εὖστοι φίλῃ. 920
 εἰ πάντα δ' ὥς πράσσοιμ' ἂν εὐθαρσῆς ἐγώ.

ΚΛ. καὶ μὴν τόδ' εἶπὲ, μὴ παρὰ γνώμην, ἐμοί,—

ΑΓ. γνώμην μὲν ἴσθι μὴ διαφθεροῦντ' ἐμέ.

915. ἐμοὶ μὲν 'to me at least, though others, to my astonishment, do not apparently fear the effect of displaying such vicious luxury'.

916. Again ambiguous; 'I would have the honour of a man—and husband—not of a god'.

917. τε καὶ. The full force is 'without carpets for the feet as without *refinements generally*'.—τῶν ποικίλων: very difficult of translation as including both 'decoration' and 'subtlety, fraud', an ambiguity important to the sense. Except for the sake of bringing out the malicious suggestion of the word ποικίλος, such an artificial phrase as τὰ ποικίλα would not have been used at all. But to substitute ποικιλμάτων (Karsten) would be to spoil the point.

918: *rumour cries loud*, another formidable phrase. Rumour sufficiently proclaims the glory of Agamemnon—and the modesty of his wife? She has dwelt on the κληδῶνες that came from Troy (v. 865): what of the κληδὼν that went there? (Propertius, who has imitated this play elsewhere, seems to have had this passage in mind in 2, 18, 35 'ipse tuus semper tibi sit custodia lectus, | nec nimis ornata fronte sedere velis: | credam ego narranti, noli committere, famae: | et terram rumor transilit et maria'.) Equally significant is Agamemnon's reference to the virtuous mind and the confidence it gives. But in relation to his own approaching fate

his language has quite another omen than he intends.

921. 'And that I shall act on this principle *always* is the assurance for me', literally 'and I am confident inasmuch as I should do *all* things after this fashion'.—εἰ πράσσοιμ' ἂν. The optative with ἂν, standing in a conditional clause, has the same meaning that it would have in a principal sentence, *i.e.* it expresses what *would* happen or *is likely* to happen, under conditions expressed or implied. (It is grammatically an *apodosis*.) Here the implied condition is the universal condition 'whatever the circumstances', and is in fact contained in πάντα. See on *Theb.* 504.—πράσσοιμ' ἂν 'I should do' (Paley) not, 'I should fare', which πάντα does not admit.—ὥς *thus*, 'on these principles' *i.e.* 'with the same moderation and propriety as I show in this refusal'. This remark, or rather promise, is for the benefit of the bystanders.—Note that πάντα is emphasized by its irregular place before δέ.—I follow Mr Sidgwick in holding that this verse is correct. εἶπον τὰδ', ὡς Weil.

922—933. On the effect of this alteration see Appendix R.

922—923. *Come, answer—saving your judgment—one question from me.—My judgment, be answered, is fixed beyond change by me.*—τὸδ' εἶπὲ...ἐμοί differs from the usual formula for asking a question, εἰπέ μοι, only in the appealing

- ΚΛ. ἡὔξω θεοῖς δείσας ἂν ὧδ' ἔρδων τάδε;
 ΑΓ. εἴπερ τις, εἰδώς γ' εὖ τόδ' ἐξεῖπον τέλος. 925
 ΚΛ. τί δ' ἂν δοκεῖ σοι Πρίαμος, εἰ τάδ' ἥνυσεν;
 ΑΓ. ἐν ποικίλοις ἂν κάρτα μοι βῆναι δοκεῖ.
 ΚΛ. μή νυν τὸν ἀνθρώπειον αἰδεσθῆς ψόγον.
 ΑΓ. φήμη γε μέντοι δημόθρους μέγα σθένει.
 ΚΛ. ὁ δ' ἀφθόνητός γ' οὐκ ἐπίζηλος πέλει. 930
 ΑΓ. οὗτοι γυναικός ἐστιν ἰμείρειν μάχης.
 ΚΛ. τοῖς δ' ὀλβίοις γε καὶ τὸ νικᾶσθαι πρέπει.
 ΑΓ. ἦ καὶ σὺ νίκην τήνδε δῆριος τίεις.

926 and 927. δοκῇ.

emphasis thrown upon ἐμοί.—τόδε: the question (v. 924), which follows the king's interruption.—μὴ παρὰ γνώμην: literally 'not against judgment', an afterthought and parenthesis, as is shown by the use of εἰπέ (not εἰπῆς as required by rule for a prohibition). The same phrase παρὰ γνώμην λέγειν occurs in Eur. *Med.* 577 καὶ παρὰ γνώμην ἐρῶ *though it be an ill-judged thing to say*, where see note. The parenthesis here is thrown in just to get a hearing, and means 'you may, without sacrifice of judgment, answer a question'.—It is impossible to be certain about ejaculatory speeches of this kind, where everything depends on the precise conversational value of each phrase. But I think, agreeing so far with Kennedy, that τόδ' εἰπέ can only mean *tell me this*.—The alternative rendering, 'Yet order this not contrary to my purpose' scarcely satisfies either τόδ' εἰπέ or καὶ μὴν.—γνώμην...μὴ διαφθερούντα 'that I shall not alter my judgment (resolve) for the worse'. Eur. *Hipp.* 388 ταῦτα...προγνοῦσ' ἐγὼ, οὐ διαφθερεῖν ἐμελλον (Paley).

924. *You vowed perhaps in some hour of terror so to perform this act?*, i.e. to make a humble entrance, propitiating the gods by renunciation. She tries a taunt of cowardice (Sidgwick).—ἡὔξω... ἂν: for this conjectural use of the past indicative with ἂν see on *Theb.* 696.—

ἔρδων, properly of the performance of a ritual.—The reading δέισασαν (Hermann) is defended as necessary because the sentence must be interrogative (Wecklein). But surely the interrogative conjecture is a not uncommon form of speech. The ms. authority is as good for δέισασαν as for δείσας ἂν, but the sense 'Have you vowed to the gods that I should make such a sacrifice (of costly decorations) only in fear for your life?' seems far inferior and scarcely to be got from the words.

925. τέλος *final decision*. He puts aside her question, reaffirming his resolution.

926. δοκεῖ Stanley. τί represents a verb to be filled in by the answer, ἐν ποικίλοις βῆναι. So in ἵνα τί; *with what object?* τί represents a verb in the subjunctive.—The parallel of Priam is of course no argument whatever. It is the king's very ground of objection that the ceremony is βάρβαρον. Clytemnestra is not really arguing but merely talking down resistance.

928. τὸν ἀνθρώπειον: with emphasis. 'If it is not fear of the gods, fear not men'.

929. See on v. 918.

932. They may submit (let themselves be conquered) with grace.

933. ἦ...τίεις *You plainly, no less than I, think the point worth contest*. Clytemnestra has spoken as if it were beneath the king's dignity to contest such

ΚΛ. πιθοῦ· κράτος μὲν τοι πάρες γ' ἐκὼν ἐμοί.

ΑΓ. ἀλλ' εἰ δοκεῖ σοι ταῦθ', ὑπαί τις ἀρβύλας

935

λύοι τάχος, πρόδουλον ἔμβασιν ποδός.—

καὶ τοῖσδέ μ' ἐμβαίνουθ' ἀλουργέσιν θεῶν

a trifle. The king, who believes, as the fact is, that the trifle has a mischievous purpose, retorts that the matter does not seem indifferent to her. *νίκην τήνδε* 'having the best in this matter'. *δῆριος τίς*: the genitive is that of price. For the archaic use of *τίς*, 'to value at, rate at', see Hom. *Il.* 23. 703, 705. Like the archaic word and form *δῆριος*, it belongs to the proverbial character (cf. *Theb.* 703) of the sentiment.—It is usual to join *δῆριος* with *νίκην*, translating thus *Do you yourself find a victory so won to your taste?* Here *νίκην τήνδε* 'that sort of victory' stands for *τὸ νικᾶσθαι* (see preceding verse). My reason for suggesting and preferring the other construction is that the rhythm divides the line naturally after *τήνδε*, and also that *δῆριος*, if joined with *νίκην*, is superfluous, a serious fault in an epigram such as this.

934. *Yield: I constrain you; let it be with consent.* In *μὲν τοι*, as the caesura suggests, each particle has its separate force. With *κράτος μὲν*, literally 'force at all events', cf. *ἐμοί μὲν* in v. 915. The antithesis implied in *μὲν*, but not formally completed, is between *κράτος* and *ἐκὼν*, *force* and *consent*. See also *Theb.* 736 *γείνατο μὲν μόρον αὐτῷ he begat a son only to be his death*, and note there. —*τοι* marks that the phrase *κράτος μὲν πάρες γ' ἐκὼν*, 'yield willingly at least what in any case will be enforced', is a common form: it must generally be omitted in English for want of a compendious equivalent.—*κρατεῖς μέντοι παρὰς* Weil and, omitting *γ'*, Wecklein; 'you win however, if you yield willingly'; cf. v. 932.—With these words she lays hands upon the king, who, as she says, has practically no choice but to give way, and compels him to descend.

936. *λύοι* for the usual *λύετω*. See on v. 557.—*τάχος* adverbial, *with speed*—Note the pause after the second foot, almost unknown in Aeschylus' iambic verse, and always significant to the ear. It here adds abruptness to the abrupt command. The king is impatient to have done.—*πρόδουλον*, in its full sense, *servant to a servant* (*vicarius*), meaner even than the foot (*Schütz*).—Here his shoes are taken off.

937. *καὶ τοῖσδε even with these if I tread etc., i.e. τοῖς ποσίν*, with his bare feet, not his shoes: note the emphasis on *ποσίν* in v. 939. The demonstrative pronoun is explained here, as often, by look and gesture. Even thus he fears to provoke *φθόνος* by his act. The whole conception of this scene is quite alien from our ideas, but the strength of Agamemnon's repugnance, partly practical and partly superstitious, will not seem exaggerated to any one who will remember what 'the evil eye' still is in Italy.—This clause is generally joined with the preceding, *καὶ* being taken as *and* and *τοῖσδε* with *ἀλουργέσιν*. The objection to this was marked by the Farnesian editor (who gives *ξὺν ταῖσδε i.e. ταῖς ἀρβύλαις*) and acknowledged by Blomfield, Heath, Dobree, Hartung etc. *τοῖσδε* so taken is superfluous, whereas the position shows it to be emphatic.—*θεῶν* belongs to *ἀλουργέσιν* (*sacred tapestries* proper only for divine service) as the rhythm demands.—*ἀλουργέσιν*. That *ἀλουργές* (adj.) should be used as a substantive is not impossible but, with *θεῶν* depending on it, improbable. On the other hand as an error *ἀλουργέσιν* is easily accounted for by the wrong interpretation of *τοῖσδε*. I should therefore prefer the normal form *ἀλουργίσιν*.

μή τις πρόσωθεν ὄμματος βάλοι φθόνος.
 πολλή γὰρ αἰδῶς σωματοφθορεῖν ποσὶν
 φθείροντα πλοῦτον ἀργυρωνήτους θ' ὑφάς.
 τούτων μὲν οὕτω· τὴν ξένην δὲ πρευμαυνῶς
 τήνδ' ἐσκόμιζε. τὸν κρατοῦντα μαλθακῶς
 θεὸς πρόσωθεν εὐμενῶς προσδέκεται·
 ἐκὼν γὰρ οὐδεὶς δουλίῳ χρήται ζυγῷ.
 αὕτη δὲ πολλῶν χρημάτων ἐξαίρετον
 ἄνθος στρατοῦ δώρημ' ἐμοὶ ξυνέσπετο.
 ἐπεὶ δ' ἀκούειν σοῦ κατέστραμμαι τάδε,
 εἴμ' ἐς δόμων μέλαθρα πορφύρας πατῶν.

940

945

945. αὕτη. 948. δόμους.^{ων}

938. *μή βάλοι* I hope no distant eye may give me an evil glance.—*πρόσωθεν* from a distance; this is no needless addition, but on the contrary marks the point. See Appendix R. To supply *θεῶν* is neither necessary nor legitimate. According to the superstition, the eye of human jealousy is as dangerous as the divine. See on v. 942.

939. *σωματοφθορεῖν ποσὶν φθείροντα* to stain with the stain of human feet. *φθεῖρειν* to spoil has the same sense as in *Cho.* 1011 *φόνον κηκίς...πολλὰς βαφὰς φθείρουσα τοῦ ποικιλιατος*.—*σωματοφθορεῖν* has been too summarily rejected. If *σῶμα* in the compound be taken as the object of *φθεῖρειν*, the word is here meaningless; but *σωματοφθόρος* equally admits the sense 'staining (or stained) with the body', as in *χειρομάχος*, *δακτυλοδεικτός* etc. Garments stained by wearing would be *σωματόφθορα*, the person wearing them *σωματοφθόρος* *εἰμάτων*, and his act *σωματοφθορεῖν* *εἵματα*. The word therefore distinguishes the bare feet ('feet of the body') from the shod, and that is precisely what is here wanted.—None of the proposed corrections (*εἵματοφθορεῖν*, *στρωματοφθορεῖν*, *δωματοφθορεῖν*) are so good as the text; and it is in itself improbable that a unique word should be either an error or a conjecture.

940. *πλοῦτον ἀργυρωνήτους θ' ὑφάς*

'what is wealth, textures bought for silver'. *πλοῦτον*: in an emphatic and restricted sense, as we speak of *the precious* metals. *ἀργυρωνήτους*: the ordinary dress, tapestry etc. of a Greek household were not bought at all, but made there.—*τε* is not necessary but is often used where simple apposition would be admissible.

941. *τούτων μὲν οὕτω*: literally 'of this thus', a formula impatiently dismissing the subject. There is an ellipse of something (e.g. *ἀπαλλαχθῶμεν*), but of what, a native Greek might have been unable to say. Nothing exactly analogous seems to occur elsewhere, for such cases as *ἀγγελία αὐτοῦ* *news of him*, and even *τοῦ κασιγνήτου τί φής*, *ἥξοντος ἢ μέλλοντος*; (*Soph. El.* 317), may, as Wecklein says, be distinguished. But it seems bold to pronounce it impossible.—*τούμῶν* Emperius, Wecklein.—*τὴν ξένην δὲ*: see Appendix R.

942. *τὸν κρατοῦντα μαλθακῶς*: see on v. 10. He flatters himself with the thought that whatever may be the effect on other 'distant eyes' (see v. 938), *divine* eyes at least will be propitiated by his humanity.

945. *αὕτη* Auratus.

946. *ἐμοὶ* belongs both to *δώρημα* and to *ξυνέσπετο*. Cf. *vn.* 866, 1365.

947. 'Since I am reduced to obey you herein'.

- ΚΛ. ἔστιν θάλασσα, τίς δέ νιν κατασβέσει;
 τρέφουσα πολλῆς πορφύρας ἰσάργυρον 950
 κηκίδα παγκαίνιστον, εἰμάτων βαφάς.
 οἶκος δ' ὑπάρχει τῶνδε σὺν θεοῖς, ἄναξ,
 ἔχειν· πένεσθαι δ' οὐκ ἐπίσταται δόμος.
 πολλῶν πατησμόν δ' εἰμάτων ἂν ἠξάμην,
 δόμοισι προυνεχθέντος ἐν χρηστηρίοις 955
 ψυχῆς κόμιστρα τῆσδε μηχανωμένη.
 ῥίζης γὰρ οὔσης φυλλὰς ἔκετ' ἐς δόμους,
 σκιὰν ὑπερτείνασα σειρίου κυνός.
 καὶ σοῦ μολόντος δωματῖτιν ἐστίαν,
 θάλπος μὲν ἐν χειμῶνι σημαίνει μολών· 960

950. εἰς ἄργυρον.

954. δειμάτων.

956. μηχανωμένης.

949—953. 'There is purple enough in the sea, and enough within'. As the king proceeds to the door along the path with its crimson ποικίλματα, it is to the eye of the queen, who foresees the εἰμάτων βαφὰς that are to follow within (v. 1382), as though already he walked in blood. There is also in the mere sound and imagery of the opening verse the feeling of her hatred, deep, cruel, and inexhaustible. But no commentary can exhaust the significance of this marvellous scene, which for spectacular writing, if the phrase may be used, has probably never been rivalled.—θάλασσα: see Appendix O.

950. ἰσάργυρον (Salmاسius) *worth its weight in silver*: ἰσοστάσιος γὰρ ἦν ἡ πορφύρα πρὸς ἄργυρον ἐξεταζομένη (Theopompus ap. Athenaeum XII. 526 C, cited by Hermann).—κηκίδα παγκαίνιστον *purple ooze ever fresh and fresh*. κηκίς, because the dye is the juice or ooze of a shell-fish. But in fact it is the underlying thought, and not the surface-meaning, which determines the form of the expression.

952. *There is a chamber of such, I trust, from which to take thereof*. τῶνδε depends both on οἶκος and on ἔχειν in slightly different ways; with οἶκος it is material, with ἔχειν partitive.—σὺν θεοῖς: see v. 904.—A difficulty is raised as to

οἶκος, (οἶκος Porson). But the expression 'room of them', for 'store of them', does not seem an unnatural stretch of language, particularly as οἶκος constantly means the contents of the house rather than the structure; cf. οἰκονόμος.

954. πολλῶν πατησμόν δέ: πολλῶν is displaced for emphasis. The full sense is 'as for trampling of tapestries I would have devoted many to the trampling'. δ' εἰμάτων Canter.

955. προυνεχθέντος τοῦ εὔχασθαι: *had it been proposed to me*.—δόμοισι... ἐν χρηστηρίοις together, *in some temple oracular*.

956. μηχανωμένη Abresch, Hermann. The genitive absolute is not impossible but objectionable and a likely error.

957. ἔκετο, gnomic aorist, *comes*. The comparison and the thing compared mix together, 'Thy life is the root of the house, and thy safe coming as the putting forth of the shading leaves'.

957—960. Note here again the artificial manner in which the images, splendid as they are, are accumulated and repeated: cf. v. 887.

958. σκιὰν... κυνός *shade against*: see ὕπνου ἄκος v. 17.

960. μολών: μολόν Voss. But as the sense is 'thy coming signifies the coming of warmth', either is right.

ὅταν δὲ τεύχη Ζεὺς ἀπ' ὄμφακος πικρᾶς
οἶνον, τότε ἤδη ψυχὸς ἐν δόμοις πέλει
ἄνδρὸς τελείου δῶμ' ἐπιστροφωμένου.—
Ζεῦ Ζεῦ τέλειε, τὰς ἐμὰς εὐχὰς τέλει·
μέλοι δέ τοι σοὶ τῶνπερ ἂν μέλλης τελεῖν.

965

ΧΟ. τίπτε μοι τόδ' ἐμπέδως
δεῖγμα προστατήριον

στρ. α'.

961. τᾶπ'.

963. **τελείου** a grim word. As applied to the husband or master of the house, it means *governing*, 'bearing τέλος' i.e. authority or office (see on *Theb.* 152). But it is also a ritual term, applied to the *perfect* victim, fit for the sacrifice (cf. *ἀνδροσφαγείον* v. 1077 and note the ritual term *τελεῖν*, to accomplish a *rite*, in v. 964). Nor is *ἐπιστροφωμένου* without bearing on this suggestion; for the victim which came by accident to the place of sacrifice was regarded as specially marked by the god, and the analogy was strictly extended to human sacrifice, as in the case of the Tauric Artemis, to whom were offered all strangers whom she caused to be cast on her shore.

964. Agamemnon has passed within; Clytaemnestra follows him, turning at the door for her final prayer.—**τέλειε** 'supreme' and over all, as the man over the house (cf. the title *Ἥρα τέλειε* given to the goddess of matronhood). Clytaemnestra conceives herself to have a claim upon the god of the family-life as the avenger of Iphigenia, if it is his pleasure to interfere at all.—**τέλει· μέλοι δὲ** *Accomplish my prayers, and then thy providence may accomplish even what thou mayest intend: i.e. 'give me vengeance, be the sequel what it may'.* **μέλοι.** This use of the optative to signify acquiescence belongs to the same archaic syntax as the imperative optative (see v. 936). For an exact parallel see Hom. *Il.* 21. 359 *λῆγ' ἔριδος, Τρῶας δὲ καὶ αὐτίκα δῖος Ἀχιλλεύς ἀστεος ἐξελάσειε, cease strife, and I consent that etc.* (see *Monro, Homeric*

Grammar § 299 for more illustrations).—For **μέλειν** specially of the *moral providence* see v. 381 οὐκ ἔφα τις θεοὺς βροτῶν ἀξιοῦσθαι μέλειν ὅσοις ἀθικτῶν χάρις πα- τοῖτο.—v. 965 is generally taken as merely a repetition of *τέλειε*, but this (1) makes it superfluous, (2) does not account for the change of mood, and (3) does not justify the generality of *τῶνπερ ἂν μέλλης*.—If the reading be correct **τῶνπερ** (for *τῶν τάπερ*) is an example, said to be unique, of the Attic 'attraction' occurring in a relative of this archaic form. It could be removed by reading either *μέλλης* or *μέλλῃ περὶ* (*Maehly*). See *Wecklein*.

965. Clytaemnestra enters the house, leaving Cassandra seated in her chariot. As to the scene generally at this point see the Introduction.

967. **δεῖγμα** *sign, i.e. 'advertisement'* or 'warning' of something that is to come. For a not dissimilar use of the word, which in poetry is extremely rare and generally not common, see Eur. *El.* 1174 (*Orestes and Electra*, after slaying Clytaemnestra, come from the house with blood upon their feet) *τροπαῖα δειγμάτων* *ἀθλῶν προσφθεγμάτων* 'a victorious advertisement of the unhappysalutation (they will pronounce)'. 'Apparition, spectre' is an impossible translation, as it does not give the proper meaning of *δείκνυμι*. **δεῖγμα** must have been in M and is presumably right; but the full interpretation of it must depend on that of the whole sentence, on which see Appendix S.—*δεῖμα* h.

καρδίας τετρασκόπου ποτᾶται,
 μαντιπολεῖ δ' ἀκέλευστος ἄμισθος αἰοιδά;
 οὐδ' ἀποπτύσας δίκαν
 δυσκρίτων ὀνειράτων
 θάρσος εὐπειθὲς ἵξει,
 φρενὸς φίλον θρόνον; χρόνος δ' ἐπὶ
 πρυμνησίων ξυνεμβόλοις
 ψαμμὶ' ἀκτᾶς παρή-
 μησεν, εὖθ' ὑπ' Ἴλιον
 ὠρτο ναυβάτας στρατός.

970

975

972. εὐπιθὲς.

973. ἐπεῖ.

975—76. ψαμμίας ἀκάτα παρήβησεν.

970. οὐδ' ἀποπτύσας...θρόνον; *Canst thou not spit it away, like an unexplained dream, and so reach such willing trust as the mind is glad to repose upon?* i.e. 'why not dismiss at any rate for the time forebodings too obscure to be of any use?' The speaker expostulates with himself, a natural form of speech when the mind, as here, is personified.—οὐδὲ ...; literally 'wilt thou not even...?', or 'not so much as...?'—ἀποπτύσας...ἵξει: for the relation of the participle and verb see *v.* 606, 611, 1031, 1052 etc. The principal notion is in ἀποπτύσας, and we should use in English (if this way of putting it may be tolerated) such a form as οὐκ ἀποπτύσεις, ὥστε ἰκέσθαι;—ἀποπτύσας literally, the act being superstitiously supposed efficacious as a magic prevention. If a dream can be interpreted, well and good; if not, you relieve your mind by 'spitting it away', and think no more about it. The object of ἀποπτύσας (*iz*, the foreboding) is readily supplied from the previous sentence.—εὐπειθὲς (Iacob) 'easy-believing', see on *v.* 286, i.e. a voluntary trust assumed in default of contrary evidence.—φρενὸς φίλον θρόνον: in apposition to θάρσος, literally 'a welcome seat to the mind'.—This sentence, not really difficult with a proper punctuation, is commonly taken as one with the preceding. There being then no subject for ἀποπτύσας...ἵξει, Scaliger changed it to ἀποπτύσαν...ἵξει,

i.e. 'while confidence does not spit it away...and sit on the seat of my mind'. But even so there is no satisfactory sense, as several further corrections show. The notions of 'spitting' and of 'sitting on the seat of the mind', attached as metaphors to a personified θάρσος, jar against each other, and the epithet φίλον is pointless.

973—977. *Yet time hath heaped the sand-grains of the shore upon the anchor-stones, since the naval host set forth to Troy; and they are returned; as I know by the witness of my own eyes, i.e. 'It is so long since the sacrifice at Aulis, and the prophecies thereupon (v. 160) are so far refuted by the king's safe return, that we might well be re-assured'.*—This passage has clearly been defaced, and though the error is probably small, certain restoration is scarcely to be hoped. The above text is given merely as possible.—ἐπὶ and ἀκάτας *Cod. Farn.*: ἀκτᾶς Wellauer. I suggest ψαμμιεκτας as a combination of letters likely to produce error from confusion of ψαμμία (from ψαμμιον) with the adjective ψάμμιος. παρήμνησεν: cf. *v.* 1420 βιασμάτων *Codex Venetus* for μασμάτων: one form of β closely resembles μ, being in fact a μ without the tail. For πα-αμάω to *heaf* as a *cover* see ἀμάω, and compare παραμπίσχω, παρακαλύπτω etc.—πρυμνησίων ξυνεμβόλοις: a ξυνέμβολον is by etymology 'what is thrown in with'

πείθομαι δ' ἀπ' ὁμμάτων
 νόστον, αὐτόμαρτυς ὦν.
 τὸν δ', ἄνευ λύρας ὅπως, ὕμνωδεῖ
 980 θρήνον Ἐρινύος αὐτοδίδακτος ἔσωθεν
 θυμός, οὐ τὸ πᾶν ἔχων
 ἐλπίδος φίλον θράσος.
 σπλάγχνα δ' οὐτὶ ματάζει,
 πρὸς ἐνδίοις φρεσὶν τελεσφόροις
 985 δίναις κυκλούμενον κέαρ.
 εὔχομαι δ' ἔξ ἐμᾶς

981. ἔρινυς.

something, here with the cables (πρυμνήσια). As a description of the large stones which the Greeks used as anchors it seems a simple phrase. Naturally they were not always carried about, but left where they lay, others being found at the next mooring. The *mooring* of the fleet in Aulis was the important fact in the story (see *πεισμάτων ἀφειδείς* v. 205), and it is thus a natural sign of the lapse of time since the departure, to say that 'the mooring-stones have disappeared in the sand'.—*εὔτε* since in the temporal sense, as Sophocles occasionally (*O. C.* 84) uses it for *since* in the causal sense. Cf. the uses of *ἐπεὶ*.—*ψαμμός* ἀκτῆς *παρήχησεν* Wecklein, from which I take the suggestion that β in *παρήβησεν* is an error. That *χρόνος* *παρήβησεν* 'time has passed his youth' should be used for 'a long time has elapsed' is incredible.

980. δὲ *but yet* as in v. 973 and constantly. *τὸν*, demonstrative *that strain* (*ἕμνον*), to which *θρήνον* Ἐρινύος is added as a further description after the manner of Homer (Monro *Hom. Gr.* §§ 258, 259).—*ἄνευ λύρας ὅπως* 'sings *without the lyre as it were*' i.e. unbidden, uninvited, ἀκέλευστος (v. 969), an expression apparently proverbial, and naturally arising from the Greek habit of passing the lyre in company. To receive the lyre was to be asked to sing; *ἄνευ λύρας ἔδειν* therefore 'to sing unasked'. That lyreless music was generally sad (see

ἄλυρος, ἀφόρμικτος) is also here part of the meaning, as it is commonly explained. This however does not fully account for *ὅπως*, which is commonly changed (after *Auratus*) to *δμως*. But the point of this whole passage is not merely that the presentiment is sad but that it is unexplained or, as we also say, 'uncalled for'.—Ἐρινύος Porson.

982. οὐ τὸ πᾶν *not to the full*. The misgiving constantly recurs in spite of the encouraging circumstances. I was mistaken here in doubting the traditional reading; see on vv. 185, 687.

984. *σπλάγχνα*. The metaphor passes from the *μάντις* to the *inward parts* of the victim from which he draws his conclusions.

985: *the throb that with meaning recurrence the heart repeats to the unmissed breast*, literally 'the coming round of the heart with portentous revolution against the truth-telling breast'. The form of expression is strange to our language but in itself powerful and natural.

987. *But I pray my false expectation may lose itself in void*, literally, 'that out of my expectation may come falsehood falling into non-accomplishment'.—Note the correlation of *ἐξ...ἐς*.—*ψύδη* is really part of the predicate like a 'proleptic' epithet. (The form is presumably right: there is no reason why *ψύδος* should not have existed as well as *ψύθος*. The stem *ψυδ-* is warranted by *ψευδής*).—The ms.

ἐλπίδος ψύδη πεσεῖν
 ἐς τὸ μὴ τελεσφόρον.
 μάλα γάρ τοι τὰς πολλὰς ὑγείας
 ἀκόρεστον τέρμα· νόσος γὰρ
 γείτων ὁμότοιχος ἐρείδει.
 καὶ πότμος εὐθυπορῶν
 ἀνδρὸς ἔπαισεν ἄφαντον ἔρμα.
 καὶ τὸ μὲν πρὸ χρημάτων

στρ. β'. 990

995

here is correct. The *Cod. Farn. scriptor* substitutes ἐχο-|μαι δ' ἀπ' ἐ-|μᾶς τοι|ἐλ-|πί-|δος κτλ., to suit his mysterious version of the strophe, ψαμμί|ας ἀκά|τας παρ-|ήβησ' |εὔθ' κτλ. In the following *strophæ* he has made other like conjectures, of which no notice is here taken.

990—991. If these lines originally corresponded by syllables to the antistrophe (*vv.* 1004—1005), they must be injured beyond restoration. The meaning is clear in both places. On the metre see Appendix II.—'True it is that the health, which abounds, encroaches; for sickness is its neighbour right up to the wall', *i.e.* 'high condition passes easily into bad condition', and generally, as the proverb is interpreted in the next lines, 'great prosperity is dangerous'.—γάρ τοι formula of assenting answer, in which γάρ means not *for* but more nearly *indeed*.—τὰς πολλὰς ὑγείας: literally, the health which is much: health lies in moderation, and is essentially a μέσον not a πολύ.—ἀκόρεστον τέρμα its boundary is unsatisfied or rapacious, the quality of the encroaching neighbour being metaphorically given to the boundary (τέρμα) which he pushes forward into his neighbour's land. The meaning is that, becoming πολλή, ὑγεία necessarily enlarges into νόσος, there being no unoccupied land between them.—ἐρείδει presses close to.

993—994. And human fortune, running too straight, oft strikes on a hidden reef.—ἀνδρὸς: *i.e.* βροτοῦ as occasionally in poetry. See *Theb.* 425 where ἀνδράσιν

is opposed to θεούς, and note there. There is no sign here of anything lost. See on the antistrophe.

995—1009. A difficult passage, in some points not explicable with the existing materials. The general connexion is this. All prosperity is dangerous (990—994); and, while some kinds of loss may be averted by a timely and willing sacrifice of gain (995—1000), which sacrifice itself the bounty of heaven can make good (1001—1003), the life once lost is never restored (1004—1006), no, not the life of the most virtuous (1007—1009). Note that *vv.* 1001—1003 are not a fresh illustration of the point that prosperity can be restored, but a parenthetic remark upon the foregoing illustration, as is shown by the connecting particle (τοι not a copula). This is pointed out by Mr Housman in the paper before cited, *Journal of Philology*, XVI, p. 271, where he discusses the whole passage.

995. τὸ μὲν answers to τὸ δὲ in *v.* 1004, on the one hand...on the other.

995—1000. The metaphor is taken from a boat which may be saved if not overloaded; but neither the meaning nor the construction can be fixed without further information on σφενδόνας ἀπ' εὐμέτρου. The current explanation is that ὄκνος is the 'fear', which throws the cargo overboard in a storm, and that σφενδόνας ἀπ' εὐμέτρου means 'with well-measured throw'. But a sling has nothing to do with the casting away of cargo, still less has the measure of a

κτησίῳ, ὄκνος βαλὼν
 σφενδόνας ἀπ' εὐμέτρου,
 οὐκ ἔδυ πρόπας δόμος
 παμονᾶς γέμων ἄγαν,
 οὐδ' ἐπόντισε σκάφος.
 πολλά τοι δόσις ἐκ Διὸς ἀμφιλαφῆς τε, καὶ
 ἐξ ἀλόκων ἐπετειᾶν
 νῆστιν ὤλεσεν νόσον.
 τὸ δ' ἐπὶ γὰν πεσὸν ἄπαξ θανάσιμον

1000

ἀντ. β'.

999. πημονᾶς.

1004. πεσόνθ'.

sling, whether referred to the capacity of the sling, or (if this is possible) to the length of the throw. None of the meanings of *σφενδόνη*, which are various but all traceable to that of a *sling*, is admissible here; and as the words are manifestly genuine, there is an infinite field for conjecture as to their unknown sense. See Appendix T.—τὸ μὲν πρὸ χρημάτων

κτησίῳ: literally 'so far as concerns the preservation of wealth': πρὸ where prose would use *ὑπέρ* on behalf of. (We can scarcely separate πρὸ from χρημάτων, or make χρ. κτ. mean 'the main cargo' as opposed to part of it.)—ὄκνος βαλὼν (χρήματα) if apprehension discharges it: for the 'pendent' nominative participle cf. *Supp.* 455 καὶ γλώσσα τοξεύσασα μὴ τὰ καίρια, γένοιτο μύθου μῦθος ἂν θελκτήριος: it is really 'in apposition to' the main sentence, like the much commoner accusative (*v.* 236); the 'casting-off' is 'the not-sinking of the house'.—σφενδόνας ἀπ' εὐμέτρου: from the duly-weighted sling, i.e. from the balance (?): see Appendix.—δόμος is not part of the metaphor of the ship, but is the thing metaphorically compared to a ship, the house (cf. *v.* 388), which by liberality desires to escape the penalty of too much. παμονᾶς γέμων ἄγαν: over-fraught with riches (Housman). For παμονή, from πάσμαι, to possess, a synonym of πᾶμα, compare the parallel forms πημονή-πῆμα, χαρμονή-χάρμα, πλησμονή-πλήσμα: so also πᾶσις

κτησίῳ Hesychius, πάτορες κτήτορες Photius. See the paper above cited for an interesting discussion of this rare class of words. It may be taken as certain that παμονή would appear in our MSS. as πημονή, and I do not doubt that Mr Housman is right: πημονᾶς *mischief, damage*, is contrary to the sense.

1001—1003. *Rich we know and abundant is the gift of Zeus, and rids the plague of hunger out of the annual field, i.e. the produce of each year supplies the year's food.* The application of this commonplace (note τοι) to the present purpose is this, that as Heaven gives man year by year in plenty what is needful for him, the eagerness for more than plenty is inexcusable. In agriculture, as usual, is sought the type of natural prosperity, and in commerce (cf. the *impiae rates* of Horace *Od.* 1. 3 etc.) that of avarice and excess.—ὤλεσεν νόσον, as if hunger were some weed or other mischievous thing in the soil (cf. *ἀφερτος αλανῆς νόσος Eum.* 482, 943) which Zeus, by his bounty, destroys. This concrete and picturesque way of putting the idea is quite in the manner of the old proverbial poetry, such as that of Hesiod, which Aeschylus is here following and probably quoting.—ἤλασεν (Schütz) is not technically probable and seems needless.

1004. τὸ δέ: see on *v.* 995.—πεσὸν Auratus.

πρόπαρ ἀνδρὸς μέλαν αἷμα τίς ἂν
 πάλιν ἀγκαλέσαιτ' ἐπαείδων;
 οὐδὲ τὸν ὀρθοδαῆ
 τῶν φθιμένων ἂν ἐπ' αὐλαβεία.
 εἰ δὲ μὴ τεταγμένα

1005

1010

1008—09. φθιμένων ἀνάγειν | Ζεὺς αὐτ' ἔπανσ' ἐπ'.

1005. μέλαν: see on *Theb.* 43.

1007. οὐδὲ...αὐλαβεία *say, to revive the most straitly virtuous were a sin*: literally, 'not even the straitly virtuous of the dead may one recall from the dead with innocency'.—ἄν, supply ἀνακαλέσαι-τό τις, the elliptical ἄν marking, as usual, that the verb of the previous sentence, as well as the subject, is continued.—τὸν ὀρθοδαῆ literally 'the rightly schooled', cf. the Homeric δαΐφρων *virtuous*. The allusion is to the standing example of Hippolytus (*Pind. Pyth.* 3. 98, *Eur. Alc.* 123, *Horace, Od.* 4. 7. 25, *Verg. Aen.* 7. 765): for restoring him to life Asclepius was slain by Zeus, and according to one form of the story Hippolytus also perished a second time (see *Horace*). Hippolytus is the typical *ascetic* trained in the Orphic discipline above the common level of humanity (see *Eur. Hipp.* 11, 952, and *passim*). Hence ὀρθοδαῆs here: the word itself is probably Orphic; see the references to the late *Orphica* in L. and Sc. s.vv. ὀρθοδότεια, δαητός.—τῶν φθιμένων: the genitive is constructed (as *partitive*) with τὸν ὀρθοδαῆ and is also supplied (as *ablative*) with the verb.—ἐπ' αὐλαβεία: i.e. ἐπ' ἀβλαβεία (h) where ἐπὶ expresses the terms and conditions upon which a thing is done. I retain under reserve the form αὐλαβεία as given, perhaps rightly, by the MS. The initial β of the stem βλαβ- is supposed by some to represent an original *f*. From ἀφλαβής the regular Aeolic formation would be αὐλαβής, as αὐρηκτος (α-φρηκτος) εὐράγη (ε-φραγη) in *Alcaeus*, and the preservation of that form might be due to some literary association.—The metre shows that either this passage

has been interpolated or the strophe is deficient. To prove that the error is here, it is almost enough that the metre can be exactly mended by an excision which leaves a text plainly liable to be misunderstood and filled up. The chances against this as an accident are enormous. Moreover while the strophe is perfect sense, this as it stands is unconstruable. The exact origin of the insertion we cannot expect to trace; it appears to be from a note or notes, ἀνάγοι and Ζεὺς αὐτὸ ἔπανσε i.e. 'Supply ἀνάγοι', 'Zeus put an end to it', or the like.

1010. *And were it not that the decrees of fate check and limit one another, my heart, outrunning my tongue, would have poured these bodings forth.* 'So strong is my sense of an evil destiny at work, that I must perforce have spoken, but for the consoling reflexion, that it may be counteracted by a good destiny', for there are many divine powers, whose purposes sometimes clash, and in the case of Agamemnon there is evidence both for the evil destiny and for the good. (Professor Goodwin, cited and followed by Mr Sidgwick).—τεταγμένα... ἐκ θεῶν *decreed by gods* belongs both to μοῖρα and (supplied again in the accusative) to μοῖραν.—μὴ πλέον φέρειν: literally *from winning more, encroaching further*: cf. πλεονέκτης *taking more than your own*.—Dr Wecklein refers μοῖρα μοῖραν to different *conditions* of men (king and subject) and explains the meaning to be that respect prevented the elders from speaking out. The sense put on μοῖρα is perfectly legitimate, but would, I think, require more indication in the context than there is.

μοῖρα μοῖραν ἐκ θεῶν
 εἶργε μὴ πλεόν φέρειν,
 προφθάσασα καρδία
 γλῶσσαν ἂν τὰδ' ἐξέχει.
 νῦν δ' ὑπὸ σκότῳ βρέμει
 θυμαλγῆς τε καὶ οὐδὲν ἐπελπομένα ποτὲ
 καίριον ἐκτολυπεύσειν
 ζωπυρουμένας φρενός.

1015

ΚΛ. εἴσω κομίζου καὶ σύ, Κασάνδραν λέγω,
 ἐπεὶ σ' ἔθηκε Ζεὺς ἀμηνίτως δόμοις
 κοινωνὸν εἶναι χερνίβων, πολλῶν μετὰ
 δούλων σταθεῖσαν κτησίου βωμοῦ πέλας.
 ἔκβαιν' ἀπήνης τῆσδε, μηδ' ὑπερφρόνει.
 καὶ παῖδα γάρ τοι φασὶν Ἀλκμήνης ποτὲ
 πραθέντα τλῆναι δουλίας μάξης βία.

1020
1025

1015. βλέπει corr. to βρέμει.

1015—1017. νῦν δέ 'as it is I ponder the matter sadly and without reaching any conclusion', or as Aeschylus expresses it in an image homely, but vivid and telling, *my heart mutters in darkness, vexed and hopeless ever to wind off its task in time, while it stirs the fire within me*. The figure is that of a woman with her wool, working in the winter against time, as we say, with no better light than she gets by stirring her fire. Virgil may perhaps have taken a touch from here for a well-known picture in the *Aeneid* (8. 410), 'cum femina primum, | cui tolerare colo vitam tenuique Minerva | impositum, cinerem et sopitos suscitât ignes | noc-tem addens operi'.

1019. Clytaemnestra, coming from the house, finds Cassandra still seated in the chariot and summons her imperiously to join, as a member of the household, the sacrifice which is to be performed within for the king's return.

1020. ἀμηνίτως not ungraciously, because in a house where according to humane and ancient custom the slaves are, to the due extent, treated as mem-

bers of the family, not merely as chattels to be worked.

1022. κτησίου βωμοῦ: the altar of Zeus Ktesios, guardian of the property and therefore of the slaves.

1025. πραθέντα τλῆναι literally 'being sold (as a slave) endured', i.e. bore up under the conditions of slavery. The phrase must be distinguished from ἐτλη πραθῆναι 'bore to be sold'; see *Theb.* 739 σπείρας ἐτλα and note there.—δουλίας μάξης βία in spite of the slaves' broth. Heracles, as being habitually a great feeder, a quality always and naturally ascribed to him in the stories on account of his great strength, would feel the more this sort of privation. Hence the popular saying, which Clytaemnestra coarsely applies to the case of the enslaved princess.—The slight quasi-personification of the fare as a thing to contend against is scarcely noticeable in the style of Aeschylus, and the ms. reading should not be suspected. The spelling δουλείας and the omission of the *iota subscript* are both regular.

εἰ δ' οὖν ἀνάγκη τῇσδ' ἐπιρρέποι τύχης,
 ἀρχαιοπλούτων δεσποτῶν πολλὴ χάρις·
 οἱ δ' οὔ ποτ' ἐλπίσαντες ἤμησαν καλῶς,
 ὧμοί τε δούλοις πάντα καὶ παράσταθμοι.

ἔχεις παρ' ἡμῶν οἰάπερ νομίζεται.

1030

XO. σοὶ τοι λέγουσα παύεται σαφῇ λόγον.
 ἐντὸς δ' ἂν οὔσα μορσίμων ἀγρευμάτων

1029. παραστάθμων.

1026. οὖν implies as usual that other hypotheses are dismissed and this hypothesis, 'that one is to be a slave', is taken instead (see on v. 681). In English the effect is given by stress, 'if that fate *should* fall to one'. A scholium rightly explains the meaning by filling up the ellipse: καλὸν μὲν, φησί, μὴ πειραθῆναι δουλείας, εἰ δὲ πειρῶτό τις, κάλλιον ἀρχαιοπλούτοις δουλεύειν. Cf. Cho. 563 foll. καὶ δὴ οὗτις ἀν...δέξαιτο· εἰ δ' οὖν ἀμείψω 'but if I do enter' etc., Soph. O. T. 851 εἰ δ' οὖν τι κάκτρεποίτο 'but even if he *should* diverge somewhat' etc., and passages collected in Paley's note.—ἐπιρρέποι: the optative puts the case as an imaginary general supposition. ἐπιρρέπει (h) must refer to the particular present case of Cassandra, but then εἰ should be ἐπεὶ and the pronoun σοι would be required after the intervening vv. 1024—25.

1028. ἤμησαν καλῶς literally 'have made a good heap' i.e. become suddenly rich. This sense of ἀμάω (*sweep together*) is more common in the compounds ἐπαμάομαι, συναμάομαι, etc., but occurs also in later literature for the simple verb (see L. and Sc. s.v.). I think we should assume it here and refer the origin of the phrase to the language of mining. It translates in fact exactly the vulgar 'make a *pile*'. That this expression is vulgar by modern convention is of course nothing to the point. The rendering 'have made a good harvest' (ἐκ θερισμοῦ schol.) has the advantage of giving to ἀμάω its older sense. But it is not likely that in any language a harvest should be taken as

the type of sudden and unexpected gain; whereas the gains of mining are naturally and typically such.

1029: *are to their slaves in all things cruel and over-exacting*.—παράσταθμοι 'exceeders of the proper standard': cf. παράνομος. The grammar requires an adjective, to be joined by τε καὶ to ὧμοί. Otherwise what is the construction of τε? On technical grounds παραστάθμων (παραστάθμωι?) is at least as likely to represent παράσταθμοι as παρὰ στάθμην (h).

1030. *Thou art receiving from us the treatment due by custom*, in being invited, that is, to share the family worship, an example already of what she may expect. See on v. 1020.

1031. σοὶ...παύεται 'tis to thee she has spoken, and plainly. The participle is principal, παύεται adding only the notion that she is waiting (*pausing*) for compliance.—σαφῇ: only too plain, as they think.

1032. ἂν...πείθοι' ἂν. The optative with ἂν is used as a gentle imperative, properly a suggestion of something which may be done. The courtesy of the speaker throws into relief the harshness of the queen. As this courtesy dictates the conditional form of the imperative, that form is naturally and properly 'fore-felt' from the beginning of the sentence, which is the effect of the anticipatory ἂν.—ἀλοῦσα (C. G. Haupt).

1033. εἰ πείθοιο: a further qualification, *if thou wouldst* (obey); see v. 1393. ἀπειθείης δ' (ἂν) ἴσως: i.e. though I can understand it if you do not. ἂν is carried

πείθοι' ἄν, εἰ πείθοι' ἀπειθοίης δ' ἴσως.

ΚΛ. ἀλλ' εἴπερ ἐστὶ μὴ χελιδόνος δίκην

ἀγνώτα φωνὴν βάρβαρον κεκτημένη,

1035

ἔσω φρενῶν λέγουσα πείθω νιν λόγῳ.

ΧΟ. ἔπου· τὰ λῶστα τῶν παρεστώτων λέγει.

πιθοῦ λιποῦσα τόνδ' ἀμαξήρη θρόνον.

ΚΛ. οὗτοι θυραῖαν τήνδ' ἐμοὶ σχολή πάρα

τρίβειν· τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἐστίας μεσομφάλου

1040

1038. πείθου.

on as in Soph. *O. T.* 937 ἥδοιο μὲν, πῶς δ' οὐκ ἄν; ἀσχάλλους δ' ἴσως: literally 'perhaps thou mayest disobey'.

1034. *If her foreign tongue is anything less unintelligible than a swallow's twittering.* μὴ χελιδόνος δίκην ἀγνώτα. Note that by the order and rhythm the negative belongs to χελιδόνος δίκην, not to φωνὴν βάρβαρον κεκτημένη. The queen does not suppose Cássandra to speak Greek or to know it, but she holds an opinion, which still, though not professed, is often betrayed, that her own language is essentially rational, and that the speech of any human being must bear so much analogy to it, as to make it intelligible, if *spoken simply and clearly*. Every one will have heard travellers, who have nothing but English, trying to convey their meaning to foreigners by speaking emphatically and briefly.—For the swallow, a standing comparison, cf. Aristoph. *Frogs* 688, *Birds* 1681.

1036. *The persuasions I urge are spoken within her understanding.* Again the participle is principal as in *v.* 1031.

1037. τὰ λῶστα τῶν παρεστώτων 'of what the circumstances allow', *P. V.* 232, Aristoph. *Knights* 30 (Wecklein).

1039. *I have no leisure, you may know, to be dallying abroad.*—Clytaemnéstra, throughout this scene, haughtily affects popular expressions and images (*vv.* 1024, 1028, 1034).—θυραῖαν is a substantive, like τροπαία (see *δυσεσβή τροπαίαν v.* 229) and εὐναία (= *εὐνή*). An ellipse of τριβήν can scarcely be supposed, when the verb τρίβειν, for which it is to be supplied,

follows, and at such a distance. But there is no reason why the ellipse should not have become stereotyped and thus formed a popular substantive θυραία *gadding, staying out of the house*. For an exact parallel see *Theb.* 692 τροπαία χρονία ἴσως ἂν ἔλθοι θελεμωτέρῳ πνεύματι where πνῶη, lost by fixed ellipse in τροπαία, reappears in πνεύματι, as here τριβή in τρίβειν.—σχολήν Dobree; but σχολή here is an unlikely error.

1040. τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἐστίας μεσομφάλου κτλ. literally 'for as to the matter of the central hearth, the sheep are already placed', *i.e.* 'the state of our sacrifice within is that the sheep' etc.—For τὰ ἐστίας μεσομφάλου, grammatically in a loose apposition to the sentence ἔστηκεν κτλ., cf. *v.* 995 τὸ μὲν πρὸ χρημάτων and *v.* 821 τὰ δ' ἐς τὸ σὸν φρόνημα. So Peile and others rightly; but μὲν nevertheless answers to δέ in *v.* 1043 (Hermann).—The alternative is to take τὰ as a demonstrative anticipating μῆλα (Monro *Hom. Grammar* §§ 258, 259) and ἐστίας as a locative with ἔστηκε. But the locative uses of the genitive (see Monro *Hom. Grammar* § 149) do not seem to justify this; ἐστίας ἔστηκε should mean 'stand on the altar side' or 'in the altar part' of something. The rhythm also seems to be in favour of connecting ἐστίας primarily with τὰ μὲν, although we must doubtless supply from it the local definition of ἔστηκεν, so that there is not much practical difference between the two views. See also the next note.—The epithet μεσομφάλου deserves attention. It must

ἔστηκεν ἤδη μῆλα πρὸς σφαγὰς πυρός,
 ὥς οὐποτ' ἐλπίσασι τήνδ' ἔξειν χάριν.
 σὺ δ' εἴ τι δράσεις τῶνδε, μὴ σχολὴν τίθει.
 εἰ δ' ἀξυνήμων οὔσα μὴ δέχει λόγον,
 σὺ δ' ἀντὶ φωνῆς φράζε καρβάνῳ χερσί.

1045

refer here to the position of the altar *in the centre* of the αὐλή, or court of the palace, within. But why this common position should be so prominently marked is not clear; and it is remarkable that while the word, otherwise almost unknown, occurs in the tragedians repeatedly as the familiar title of the sanctuary at Delphi (*Theb.* 732 etc.; *Eur. Ion* 462 has the exact phrase μεσομῆλος ἐστία), this is the only place where it is applied to anything else; and we should therefore look for some intention. Now Cassandra (see the sequel) is wearing her robes and insignia as prophetess of Apollo, is dressed in fact as the Pythia. To this, I believe, Clytaemnestra mockingly refers: the full force of τὰ μὲν ἐστίας μεσομῆλον..., σὺ δὲ κτλ. is 'as for a ἐστία μεσομῆλος, that is all ready; if *you*, the prophetess, mean to take your part, you must come at once'.

1041. πρὸς σφαγὰς πυρός for the *sacrifice of the fire*, i.e. for the feast which they were already holding in honour of the beacon (πῦρ as in *vv.* 481, 593, where the sacrifices also are mentioned, ὅμως ἔθνον). This, says the queen, they had commenced before, not expecting (as indeed well they might not) to have 'the present joy' of seeing the king arrive close after his message. Consequently victims and all arrangements for a feast are already at hand in the palace; the ceremony is already prepared and therefore the queen has no time to waste.—The received interpretation of πρὸς σφαγὰς πυρός, so far as any is received, has been 'to be slain for the fire', i.e. for burning on the altar. But a long list of corrections (πάρος, Musgrave, the least unsatisfactory) shows that this is felt to

be indefensible. The use of the objective genitive would be bold, but much more alien from Greek would be the superfluity of the phrase and of the most prominent word πυρός. Besides, without some reference to the previous occasion for sacrifice, there is no point in *v.* 1042, where τήνδε χάριν implies an ἐκείνην. After the foregoing scenes *the sacrifice of the fire* is quite as intelligible as it is meant to be.

1042. ὥς οὐποτ' ἐλπίσασι as it was *never expected*, literally 'as for persons not having any expectation'. The absence of a defining pronoun (e.g. ἡμῖν which Kennedy would read for ἥδῃ) gives the same force as the English passive.—ποτε generalizes and emphasises the negative, exactly as in the English *never* for *not*. So οὐδὲν ποτε *v.* 1134, οὐ γάρ ποτ' ἠύχουν *v.* 511.—Those who take πρὸς σφαγὰς πυρός for 'in readiness for burnt-offering', take *v.* 1042 to mean 'as for an unexpected triumph'. But surely this could not account for the fact that the victims were ready now. The more sudden the occasion, the longer would be the time required for preparation.

1044. εἰ *since*. Clytaemnestra explains her command by gesture.

1045. δὲ marks the apodosis, σὺ stands for a repetition of ἀξυνήμων οὔσα, 'thou, being what thou art'. For both see *Eum.* 888 εἰ μὲν ἀγνὸν ἐστὶ σοι πειθοῦς σέβας ...σὺ δ' οὖν μένοισι ἄν.—Others (Wecklein) refer σὺ to the elder, who is to explain Clytaemnestra's words by signs. But it does not appear why she should not do so herself, and it is difficult to refer καρβάνῳ χερσί to any but the foreigner.—φράζε *signify your meaning*. See *Herod.* 4. 113 καὶ φωνῆσαι μὲν οὐκ εἶχε, οὐ γὰρ

- ΧΟ. ἐρμηνέως ἔοικεν ἡ ξένη τοροῦ
δεῖσθαι· τρόπος δὲ θηρὸς ὡς νειαιρέτου.
- ΚΛ. ἡ μαίνεται γε καὶ κακῶν κλύει φρενῶν,
ἥτις λιποῦσα μὲν πόλιν νειαίρετον
ἥκει, χαλινὸν δ' οὐκ ἐπίσταται φέρειν, 1050
πρὶν αἱματηρὸν ἐξαφρίζεσθαι μένος.
οὐ μὴν πλέω ῥίψας' ἀτιμασθήσομαι.
- ΧΟ. ἐγὼ δ', ἐποικτείρω γάρ, οὐ θυμώσομαι.
ἴθ', ὦ τάλαινα, τόνδ' ἐρημώσας' ὄχον,
ἐκούσ' ἀνάγκῃ τῇδε καίνισον ζυγόν. 1055

ΚΑΣΑΝΔΡΑ.

- ὀτοτοτοτοῖ ποποῖ δᾶ. στρ. α'.
- ὦπολλον ὦπολλον.
- ΧΟ. τί ταῦτ' ἀνωτότυξας ἀμφὶ Λοξίου;
οὐ γὰρ τοιοῦτος ὥστε θρηνητοῦ τυχεῖν.
- ΚΑ. ὀτοτοτοτοῖ ποποῖ δᾶ. ἀντ. α'. 1060
ὦπολλον ὦπολλον.
- ΧΟ. ἡ δ' αὔτε δυσφημοῦσα τὸν θεὸν καλεῖ
οὐδὲν προσήκοντ' ἐν γόοις παραστατεῖν.

1048. ἡ.

1051—1158. Readings of M.

1052. μῆ (μῆν m).

συνέσαν ἀλλήλων, τῇ δὲ χειρὶ ἐφραζε (Wecklein).

1045. Cassandra takes no notice of the queen, but her bearing and gestures begin to express a great horror. The elders understand nothing: Clytaemnestra understands only too well. Perceiving her imprudence and danger she quits the stage hastily as if in indignation at the captive's perversity.

1047. Note the emphasis on δεῖσθαι: 'An interpreter, and a plain one, she *does*, it seems, want'.—**τρόπος δὲ**: prose would use γάρ, English no conjunction at all.

1048. κλύει *listens to, obeys*.

1051. αἱματηρὸν predicate, *in blood*.

1052. *I will not waste more words to be thus scorned*.

1055. *Take on thee without resistance the new yoke of this necessity*. ἀνάγκῃ the common possessive dative or dative

'of interest' (see v. 1105 and *passim*). The ἀνάγκη is personified as imposing the yoke. For the antithesis ἐκούσ' ἀνάγκῃ (do willingly what must be done) see v. 934 κράτος μὲν τοι παρὲς γ' ἐκών.—To substitute εἰκονσ' (Robortello) is needless and makes the expression more commonplace.

1056. Cassandra leaves the chariot and comes forward, away from the palace. The prophetic frenzy is upon her and she sees both the past and the future of the bloody house.—**ποποῖ δᾶ**. The origin and original meaning of these exclamations is uncertain. δᾶ is commonly identified with a Doric form for γᾶ. τοτοῖ Dindorf: πόποι others.

1057. Ἀπολλον. The story is given below, v. 1201.

1062. δὲ yet, where prose would use ἀλλά.

ΚΑ. "Απολλον "Απολλον

στρ. β'.

ἀγνιάτ', ἀπόλλων ἐμός·

1065

ἀπώλεσας γὰρ οὐ μόλις τὸ δεύτερον.

ΧΟ. χρήσειν ἔοικεν ἀμφὶ τῶν αὐτῆς κακῶν.

— μένει τὸ θεῖον δουλία παρ' ἐν φρενί.

ΚΑ. "Απολλον "Απολλον

ἀντ. β'.

ἀγνιάτ', ἀπόλλων ἐμός.

1070

ἂ ποῖ ποτ' ἤγαγές με; πρὸς ποῖαν στέγην;

ΧΟ. πρὸς τὴν Ἀτρειδῶν. εἰ σὺ μὴ τόδ' ἐννοεῖς,

ἐγὼ λέγω σοι· καὶ τὰδ' οὐκ ἐρεῖς ψύθῃ.

ΚΑ. ᾧ ᾧ

στρ. γ'.

μισόθεον μὲν οὖν, πολλὰ συνίστορα

1075

αὐτοφόνα κακὰ κάρτα· ναί,

1076. καρτάναι.

1065. ἀπόλλων ἐμός· ἀπώλεσας γὰρ, bringing out the suggestion of the name. οὐ μόλις 'more than enough' to deserve the name.—ἀγνιάτα, voc. of ἀγνιάτης; addressing (as a new-comer to the house?) the guardian Apollo before the door in the street (ἀγνιά). So Polynices leaving his father's house addresses his farewell specially to the Φοῖβος Ἀγνιεύς (*Phoen.* 631, see also *Ar. Vesp.* 869).

1066. ἀπώλεσας *thou hast been a destroyer.*

1067. χρήσειν: *i.e.* she is about to 'declaim' in the style of inspiration. It is noticeable that the first effect of this is to diminish their sympathy sensibly; they are even disposed to mock and sneer (*vv.* 1072—73). Their attitude towards *μαντική* is the common attitude of superstition, a dislike between respect and contempt.

1068. *The soul retains inspiration, when all is slave but that.* δουλία παρ' ἐν literally 'slave-like save one thing' or 'with one exception'; for the use of παρά see *L. and Sc. s. v.* To understand this verse (which, as I think, is spoilt by writing, after Schütz, δουλία περ ἐν) we must remember that the Greeks viewed the *δοῦλος* as something in nature different from the *ἐλεύθερος*, something between

the complete man and the mere animal, and also held that, as Homer says, enslavement changed the nature, brutalizing and debasing it to the new condition. The statements of philosophy on these subjects merely make precise what was before implied in popular language. Of this the elders suppose themselves to be witnessing a signal illustration: Cassandra, they think, is scarcely rational; she can neither understand nor signify her thoughts. But a slave might be 'possessed' no less than the free, and the dictum here, conceived in a spirit by no means respectful to τὸ θεῖον, rests upon this fact. 'The spiritual faculty', if we may translate the phrase into much later conceptions, 'is the last to go'. But the sarcasm recoils, as is the intention, upon the speakers.

1072: 'if *thou* (the prophetess) perceivest not that, *I* can tell it thee; and thou wilt not find it untrue', a sufficiently palpable insinuation.

1075. πολλὰ συνίστορα *full of guilty secrets*: συνίστορα (from *συνειδέναι τι ἐαντῷ* to have a thing upon the conscience) takes the construction (πολλά) of a participle. Kühner *Gr. Grammar*, § 409, note 4a.—κακὰ, in apposition to πολλά.

1076. See Appendix U.

ἀνδροσφαγείον, παιδιορραντήριον.

ΧΟ. ἔοικεν εὖρις ἢ ξένη κυνὸς δίκην
εἶναι, ματεύει δ' ὦν ἀνευρήσει φόνον.

ΚΑ. μαρτυρίοισι γὰρ τοῖσδ' ἐπιπέιθομαι· ἀντ. γ'. 1080
κλαιόμενα τὰ βρέφη σφαγὰς
ὀπτάς τε σάρκας πρὸς πατρὸς βεβρωμένας.

ΧΟ. ἦμεν κλέος σου μαντικὸν πεπυσμένοι,
ἦμεν· προφήτας δ' οὐτινας μαστεύομεν.

1077. ἀνδρὸς σφάγιον καὶ πεδορραντήριον.

1079. μαντεύει. ἂν εὐρήσῃ.

1080. μαρτυρίοισι. τοῖσδε πεπιέθομαι.

1081. τάδε. 1084. ἦμεν· ἦμην.

1077. ἀνδροσφαγείον Dobree: παι-
διορραντήριον: for the error compare
παιδίον (M) for πεδίον v. 309; it is a
common confusion of spelling. The word
is a compound like ἀνδροσφαγείον, made
by the poet for the occasion: a place
where human beings are sacrificed, where
dabes are bled for the sprinkling, both
σφάζειν and βάλειν being here used as
terms of ritual. It is to be remembered
that the children of Thyestes (see v. 1081)
were slain as Agamemnon is about to be
slain, under the pretext of a sacrificial
feast (see v. 1592).—πεδορραντήριον is
generally allowed to be faulty; there is
no force in describing the house as 'a
place where the floor is sprinkled': the
MS. reading I take to have come from
an attempt to restore the metre, destroyed
by the misspelling παιδιορραντήριον. The
correction is suggested to me by Weil's
παιδοσφαγείον for ἀνδροσφαγείον: and
see next note.

1079. εἶναι: note the emphasis (vv.
14, 1047 etc.); 'The strange woman is
indeed, it seems, keen at a scent. She
is upon a trail of blood where she will
find it': literally 'she is seeking the blood
of those of whom she will find the blood'.
The elders, at first little impressed, be-
come grave at the allusion to the crime
of Atreus. The fact that they now com-
prehend Cassandra is strongly in favour
of the reading παιδιορραντήριον, without
which there is nothing in her words
sufficiently definite to convince them.—

μαντεύει f, h, ἀνευρήσει Porson.

1080. μαρτυρίοισι Pauw, τοῖσδ' ἐπι-
πέιθομαι Abresch.

1083. We had heard of thy fame as
prophetess, had heard of it; we seek none
to speak for thee. προφήτας i.e. μάρτυ-
ρας, literally τοὺς λέγοντας ἡμῖν περὶ σοῦ
schol. The word is used in its proper
sense 'one who speaks for another', but
with a slight variation in the meaning of
προ-, which is here equivalent to ὑπέρ.
The meaning μάντις is secondary only,
and in fact (as Mr Housman shows,
Journal of Philology xvi. p. 266) the
word does not in the classical writers
mean μάντις, though a μάντις is often
προφήτης θεοῦ.—ἦμεν: this, as the ac-
centuation shows, was the word wrongly
written at first in M as ἦμην, and in my
judgment may well be right, as an
emphatic repetition of the verb. The
speakers, alarmed and displeased, are
eager to silence Cassandra, whom they
take to be merely displaying her powers
of divination to impress them, with
the assurance that they knew them by
reputation. But ἦδη (Housman) is not
improbable.—The supposition that ἦμεν
is a mere error introduced from the
previous line is not satisfactory to me,
nor the translation of τούτων προφήτας
(Weil) by 'prophets (?) of these things'.
—μαστεύομεν (cf. μαστήρ) is a warranted
form and need not be altered to ματεύ-
ομεν.

- ΚΑ. ἰὼ ποποῖ, τί ποτε μῆδεται;
τί τόδε νέον ἄχος μέγα
μέγ' ἐν δόμοισι τοῖσδε μῆδεται κακὸν
ἄφερτον φίλοισιν,
δυσίλατον; ἀλκὰ δ'
ἐκάς ἀποστατεῖ. 1090
- ΧΟ. τούτων αἰδρὶς εἶμι τῶν μαντευμάτων.
ἐκεῖνα δ' ἔγνων· πᾶσα γὰρ πόλις βοᾷ.
- ΚΑ. ἰὼ τάλαινα, τόδε γὰρ τελεῖς;
τὸν ὁμοδέμνιον πόσιν
λουτροῖσι φαιδρύνασα—πῶς φράσω τέλος;
τάχος γὰρ τόδ' ἔσται.
προτείνει δὲ χεῖρ' ἐκ
χερὸς ὀρεγομένα. 1095
- ΧΟ. οὐπω ξυνῆκα· νῦν γὰρ ἐξ αἰνιγμάτων
ἐπαργέμοισι θεσφότοις ἀμνηχανῶ. 1100
- ΚΑ. ἐ ἐ παπαῖ παπαῖ,
τί τόδε φαίνεται;
ἦ δίκτυόν τι "Αἰδου.
ἀλλ' ἄρκυς ἡ ξύνευνος, ἡ ξυναιτία. 1103.

1086. ἄχθος (ἄχος m).

1097. χεῖρ corr. to χεῖρ'.

1103. τί γ'.

1085. She sees in vision from point to point the murder of Agamemnon.

1092. ἐκεῖνα: τὰ περὶ Θυέστου schol. See v. 1075.

1097. χεῖρ' ἐκ χερὸς she is reaching, stretching forth hand after hand. The subject is still 'the murderess'. χερὸς later MSS.—χερὸς ὀρέγματα Hermann, but see Appendix II.

1099: to the perplexity of hints has succeeded that of oracles blind. No exact distinction need be sought, but the general meaning is that while vv. 1093—98 are less vague than vv. 1085—90, they stop short of the conclusion, as if the seer could not see her way.

1102. She sees the enfolding of the king in the robe (v. 1381).

1103. τι "Αἰδου Dindorf. The γε is not easily explicable and may easily have been inserted to remove the hiatus, which

however, as it is found in τί οὐ, may be admitted.

1104. ἀλλ' ἄρκυς nay, rather the snare is she, i.e. the murderess herself is the true snare: δίκτυον is properly a cast-net, ἄρκυς a stake-net, but the distinction must not be pressed.—ἡ ξύνευνος, ἡ ξυναιτία the partner of the bed, the partner of the crime. ξύνευνος: wife or paramour? Rather both: the preceding context points to the bed of the husband; but the associations of the word, which is hardly ever used in an honourable sense, naturally bring the seducer into view, and this suggestion is confirmed by ἡ ξυναιτία. ξυναιτία is explained by some to mean 'accomplice of the δίκτυον, of the fatal robe'. This cannot be the whole meaning, as it does not satisfy the correspondence of ξύνευνος...ξυναιτία, but it is perhaps suggested also. The truth is that

φόνου στάσις δ' ἀκόρεστος γένει
κατολολυξάτω
θύματος λευσίμου.

1105

ΧΟ. ποίαν Ἐρινὺν τήνδε δώμασιν κέλει

στρ.

in such a scene as this we must avoid the error of seeking explanations too precise. If the language is suggestive, it is all that it ought to be. It is not meant to be clear.—To take *φόνου* with *ξυναιτία* would spoil the rhythm and misplace the emphasis. See also next note.

1105. *φόνου στάσις* *Chorus of Death*. Here *φόνου* is necessary; without definition *στάσις* would be too vague to suggest the following question *ποίαν Ἐρινύν*;—As *φόνου στάσις* forms one idea, of which *φόνου* is the emphatic part, the position of *δέ* is according to Aeschylus' habit natural and correct (see *v.* 249).—*ἀκόρεστος* (*φόνου*) *γένει* *never sated with the blood of the race*, literally 'insatiable to the race'.—I do not venture to write *ἀκόρετος* (Bothe): for making *ἀκόρετος* from the stem of *κορέννυμι* there appears to be no satisfactory analogy: *-αινετος*, *-αιρετος*, *-δετος*, etc. are different, and see on the other hand *ἄσβεστος*, *ἀκέραστος*, *σκεδαστός*. On the metre see Appendix II.

1107. *κατολολυξάτω θύματος λευσίμου* *raise the solemn cry over sacrifice to be slain by stoning*. The context demands that *θύμα λεύσιμον* should mean the murder, which must be called so metaphorically, but why, or what to a Greek *θύμα λεύσιμον* would suggest, is obscure. Sacrifice by stoning, though not generally practised in historic Hellas, is traceable here and there in tradition. Thus at Condylea in Arcadia the name of the local goddess *Artemis the Strangled* (*Ἀπαγχομένη*) was explained by a story that some children, having in play pretended to strangle the image with a rope, were *stoned*, and the people suffered plagues in consequence, till they consulted the Pythia, who condemned the stoning of the children and imposed expiations

(Pausanias 8. 23. 6). At Troezen again a feast called *Λιθοβολία* was celebrated in honour, it was said, of two virgins from Crete, who in the confusion of a riot were *stoned* by the opposite faction (*στασιασάντων δὲ ὁμοίως τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει ἀπάντων καὶ ταύτας φασὶν ὑπὸ τῶν ἀντιστασιωτῶν καταλευσθῆναι* Paus. 2. 32. 2). It is obvious that these stories, which are of a familiar type, really refer to former customs of human sacrifice; and it is remarkable that at Troezen the persons by whom the rite was performed were called a *στάσις* (at least this seems the most natural way of accounting for the absurd and confused story about *στασιώται*), which may throw light upon *στάσις* here. In human sacrifices the use of stoning would be explicable as a technical way of avoiding the pollution of bloodshed (since the act is not done by any one hand and does not necessarily shed the blood as *σφαγή* does). And that this really was the motive seems likely from the Arcadian case. The symbolical strangulation, which Pausanias implies to have been practised still, points to a previous real use of strangulation also, as a method of sacrifice; and strangulation is another known way of killing so as to avoid bloodshed and consequent pollution. It seems therefore possible that the metaphor here is taken from barbarous rites of this type; the murder being compared to a 'sacrifice by stoning' *i.e.* a human sacrifice, over which the chorus of fiends, who are performing it, are bidden to rejoice.—To refer *θύμα λεύσιμον* to the imagined stoning of *Clytaemnestra* by the people seems impossible. The death of *Clytaemnestra* is not here relevant, and a false prediction would spoil the whole effect.

ἐπορθιάζειν; οὐ σὲ φαιδρύνει λόγος·
 ἐπὶ δὲ καρδίαν ἔδραμε κροκοβαφῆς
 σταγῶν, ἅτε καιρία πτώσιμος
 ξυνανύτει βίου
 δύντος ἀνγᾶϊς· ταχεῖ-
 α δ' ἅτα πέλει.

IIIO.

KA. *ā, ā, ἰδὸν ἰδού·*

ἀντ. ε'. IIII5

ἄπεχε τῆς βοῦς

τὸν ταῦρον· ἐν πέπλοιςιν

μελαγκέρφ λαβοῦσα μηχανήματι

II09. οὐ με.

IIII. καὶ δορία.

II09. οὐ σὲ: see next note.

IIIO—IIII4: *pale is the drop that runs to thy heart, even such as from a mortal wound drips slow and slower when life's light sets and death is coming quick.*—*καιρία πτώσιμος* Dindorf, literally 'shed so as to be mortal', see *v.* 1342: *καὶ δορί πτώσιμος*, 'even such as from a spear-wound', is also possible.—*ξυνανύτει... ἀνγᾶϊς* literally 'ceases (dripping) as the light ceases', the wound ceasing to bleed as the eyes of the wounded man close in death.—*ταχεῖα δ' ἅτα πέλει.* For the independent sentence where prose style would use a dependent clause see *v.* 1089, *ἀλκὰ δέ κτλ.* 'while help is far'.—The description is of one seized with intense horror and turning, as we say, 'pale as death'. The paleness of the dying face is attributed inaccurately but poetically to the blood.—As *v.* 1109 is given in M, *οὐ με φαιδρύνει*, this description would seem to refer to the speaker himself. To one ancient scribe this appeared so improbable that he actually transferred these verses (IIIO—IIII4) to *Cassandra* (so originally in the MS.). This is impossible; but the transition to such terrible emotion on the part of the Chorus is strangely sudden, and stranger is it that their next speech (*v.* 1122) shows no such feeling, but expresses as before merely bewilderment and vague apprehension. On these grounds, and considering also that by the order of the words in *v.* 1109 the empha-

sis ought to be on the pronoun, I think that we should read *οὐ σὲ*, 'Thou lookest not glad *thyself* at what thou sayest'. The horror described is then naturally that of *Cassandra* as the vision begins to show the striking of the murderous stroke. The error is not great nor difficult to understand. If *οὐ με* be retained I should still refer the following description to *Cassandra*. Harsh as the transition then is, I cannot understand the words otherwise.

IIII8: *with her crafty weapon, her black horn.*—*μηχανήματι*: i.e. the axe with which she has provided herself.—*μελαγκέρφ* does not mean that the *μηχάνημα* is black-horned but that it is represented, in the figure, by the black horn.—Dr Wecklein, reading *ἐν πέπλων νιν μελαγκέρφ κτλ.*, takes the *μελαγκέρων μηχανήμα* to be the enveloping robe, which, as *Agamemnon* stretches out his arms in it, 'has an appearance as of something black-horned'. In favour of this it must be admitted that *λαβοῦσα*, if not constructed with *μελαγκέρφ μηχανήματι*, is irregularly placed. Nor do I think the grotesqueness of the conception any valid objection in such a place. On the other hand it is difficult not to suppose, as readers in general have done, that the horn which gores is the axe which strikes.—The scholia record both *μελαγκέρφ* and *μελαγκέρων* (i.e. *τὸν μελαγκέρων ταῦρον*), apparently a device to remove the irregularity in *λαβοῦσα* above noticed.

τύπτει· πίτνει δ' ἐν ἐνύδρῳ τεύχει.

δολοφόνου λέβη-

1120

τος τύχαν σοι λέγω.

ΧΟ. οὐ κομπάσαιμ' ἂν θεσφάτων γνώμων ἄκρος

ἀντ.

εἶναι, κακῶ δέ τῳ προσεικάζω τάδε.

ἀπὸ δὲ θεσφάτων τίς ἀγαθὰ φάτις

βροτοῖς στέλλεται; κακῶν γὰρ διαί

1125

πολυπεεῖς τέχναι

θεσπιωδὸν φόβον

φέρουσιν μαθεῖν.

ΚΑ. ἰὼ ἰὼ ταλαίνας

στρ. ζ'.

κακόποτμοι τύχαι.

1130

τὸ γὰρ ἐμὸν θροῶ

πάθος ἐπεγχεάσα.

ποῖ δὴ με δεῦρο τὴν τάλαιναν ἤγαγες,

οὐδέν ποτ' εἰ μὴ ξυνθανουμένην· τί γάρ;

1119. omits ἐν.

1125. διὰ.

1119. ἐν ἐνύδρῳ: Schütz.—τεύχει: κύτει Blomfield. See Appendix II.

1123. εἶναι: with emphasis (see *vv.* 1047, 1079 etc.), exactly as we should give it in English, 'A very good judge of the oracular I cannot boast that I *am*, but', etc.

1125. βροτοῖς στέλλεται, *is sent to man*, does not seem difficult. τέλλεται Hermann.—κακῶν γὰρ διαί: 'it is *all* woe, a mass of cunning phrase, offering for lesson but a terrifying chant'. κακῶν διαί (Hermann). The preposition is emphatic, 'through woes', *i.e.* 'in woe throughout'.—τέχναι: the 'science' or 'skill' of the μάντις: cf. τέχνη Κάλχαντος in *v.* 260; the reference is particularly (as πολυπεεῖς shows; see *ξπος*, *ξη*) to the phraseology and metrical form of prophetic utterance. Much of the effect of 'oracles', as they were used in the believing age of Greece by those who went to the common μάντις, depended on the simple notion that the power to pour out rapidly language cast in a formal shape indicates some sort of inspiration. The art of the μάντις was just beginning

to decline in repute among the educated in the time of Aeschylus. It is more severely treated by Sophocles, and by Euripides generally with contempt.

1132. ἐπεγχεάσα: 'as a drop' or 'ingredient more' added to the lament for the king. See a somewhat similar metaphor in *v.* 17.—Of the corrections proposed to adjust the metre to the strophe, ἐπεγχεά (Campbell, Sidgwick) is the least violent: but it assumes a very strange use of the explanatory infinitive and is tolerable only as an expedient. The *ms.*, it must be admitted, gives exactly the proper turn to the meaning, and I believe myself that it is right. See Appendix II.

1133. An apostrophe to Agamemnon (Paley), not surely to Apollo: the king is already in her mind, τὸ ἐμὸν in *v.* 1131 being antithetic to τὸ τοῦ Ἀγαμέμνονος: and note specially ξυνθανουμένην, with which grammar requires us to supply σοι. On the stage the actor's look (towards the palace) would add a completing comment.

1134. τί γάρ; *what else?*

- ΧΟ. φρενομανής τις εἶ θεοφόρητος, ἀμ- στρ. α'. 1135
 φι δ' αὐτὰς θροεῖς
 νόμον ἄνομον, οἷά τις ξουθὰ
 ἀκόρετος βοᾶς, φεῦ,
 ταλαίναϊς φρεσὶν
 Ἰτυν Ἰτυν στένουσ' ἀμφιθαλῇ κακοῖς 1140
 ἀηδὼν βίον.
 ΚΑ. ἰὼ ἰὼ λιγείας ἀντ. ζ'.
 μόρον ἀηδόνας.
 περέβαλον γὰρ οἱ
 πτεροφόρον δέμας 1145
 θεοί, γλυκύν γ' ἀγῶνα κλαυμάτων ἄτερ.
 ἐμοὶ δὲ μίμνει σχισμὸς ἀμφήκει δορί.
 ΧΟ. πόθεν ἐπισσύτους θεοφόρους τ' ἔχεις ἀντ. α'.

1143. ἀηδόνας μόρον.

1144. περεβάλοντο γὰρ οἱ.

1146. τ'.

1140. ἀμφιθαλῇ κακοῖς ... βίον *all her sorrow-filled days.*

1144—1147. *Her the gods changed into a winged form, a sweet passage and a tearless, while I must be parted with the sharp steel.* περέβαλον, the 'Aeolic' form for περιέβαλον, which should be retained (Wecklein, comparing *Eum.* 637). γὰρ (?) or perhaps τό γε: the article, or rather demonstrative pronoun, used to mark the antithesis. The full equivalent in English would be 'what the gods did to her at least was to clothe her in a winged form'. For examples in Homer, where this use of the anticipatory pronoun with various particles is characteristic, see Monro *Homeric Gramm.* §§ 258—259, and for the combination with the dative pronoun see e.g. Herod. 3. 65 τὸ μὲν δὴ ἔργον ἐξείργασταί μοι... οἱ δὲ ὑμῖν μάγοι κρατέουσι τῶν βασιλῆων.—The middle περεβάλοντο can hardly be right, meaning 'to put on oneself'; on the other hand simply to strike out το (Blomfield) seems arbitrary, while γὰρ is easily explained as a conjectural suggestion for τό γ'.—ἀγῶνα: literally 'a struggle', used, as in Euripides frequently, for what is terrible, critical, or both at once, e.g. *Hec.* 229 παρέστηχ' ὥς ἔοικ' ἀγῶν μέγας, *Med.* 366 ἔτ' εἴσ'

ἀγῶνες τοῖς νεωστὶ νυμφίοις, *Supp.* 71 ἀγῶν ὃδ' ἄλλος ἔρχεται. So also ἀγωνισμα *Eur. El.* 987 πικρὸν τε χηδὸν τὰ γῶνισμά μοι. The application of the word here to the *quitting of life* suggests the beginning of the special association which was afterwards fixed and still attaches to the cognate ἀγωνία *agony*. The accusative is 'in apposition to' the sentence; the transformation to a bird was a γλυκὺς ἀγῶν.—That ἀγῶνα is right, and αἰῶνα, a conjecture suggested in M, wrong, seems to me certain. The antithesis (see v. 1146) is between the death which awaits Cassandra and the painless transformation of Philomela (Enger); and the 'sweet life', even if consistent with v. 1140, is not the point.—The frequent error τε for γε is here specially probable as giving the accusative a commoner construction.—σχισμὸς *cleaving, sundering*, combines the actual *wounding* with the *parting* of soul and body.

1148. πόθεν ἐπισσύτους θεοφόρους *te whence sent, and by whom imposed*, literally 'god-brought'.—To omit τε (Hermann) rather confuses than clears the sentence; τε couples together the two adjectives which are predicates.

- ματαίους δῦας,
τὰ δ' ἐπίφοβα δυσφάτω κλαγγῇ
μελοτυπεῖς ὁμοῦ τ' ὀρ-
θίοις ἐν νόμοις;
πόθεν ὄρους ἔχεις θεσπεσίας ὁδοῦ
κακορρήμονας;
ΚΑ. ἰὼ γάμοι γάμοι Πάριδος ὀλέθριοι
φίλων. ἰὼ Σκαμάνδρου πάτριον ποτόν·
τότε μὲν ἀμφὶ σὰς αἰόνας τάλαι·
ἡνυτόμαν τροφαῖς·
νῦν δ' ἀμφὶ Κωκυτόν τε κάχερουσίους
ὄχθους ἔοικα θεσπιδήσειν τάχα.
ΧΟ. τί τόδε τορὸν ἄγαν ἔπος ἐφημίσω;
νεογνὸς ἀνθρώπων μάθοι.
- στρ. η'. 1155
1160
στρ. β'.

1159—the end. Readings of f.

1150: *and shapest that fearful song with words so hard and harsh and yet with a march so clear.* ὁμοῦ τε, *and at the same time*, marks an antithesis. They had called her utterance νόμον ἄνομον (v. 1137), *a wild tune*, literally 'an unordered order', νόμος being properly the *order* or arrangement of notes in a tune. But they are forced to admit that there is 'method in it'.—ὄρθιος signifies both *raised* in tone and *straightforward* and was applied with both associations specially to military march music (see Lex. s.v.). The second meaning is here most prominent and suggests the following metaphor of the *way* and the *boundaries* or guiding-stones.

1154. *How findest thou the terms of woe which guide thy inspired way?*

1162. *A man new-born might understand.* The changes suggested here are not any of them probable, nor do I believe that the text is wrong. Such a proverbial phrase might be expected to exhibit, as it does, archaic constructions (see on v. 557). The substantival adjective, νεογνός for ὁ νεβγονος, is in Aeschylus common. The partitive genitive, or rather genitive 'of distinction

from', is the same which survives in the vocative phrases δία γυναικῶν, φίλα γυναικῶν etc., in ἀριδείκετος ἀνδρῶν (Il. 11. 248), and in the forms of emphasis κακὰ κακῶν (*things evil among evils*) etc. (Kühner *Gr. Grammar*, § 414, 5, b): in short νεογνός is treated (according to the meaning, ὁ νεώτατος ἀνθρώπων) as a superlative; cf. πρόπρυμα ἐκβολῶν *utter wreck* in Theb. 754.—ἀνθρώπων is indispensable; 'a new-born one among human beings' is in modern phrase 'the youngest human intelligence'.—Lastly μάθοι falls under the following exceptional usage of archaic grammar. "From acquiescence or willingness that something shall happen, the optative passes to *admission of possibility*, i.e. willingness to *suppose* or believe that the thing will happen...Od. 3. 231 ρεῖα θεός γ' ἐθέλων καὶ τηλόθεν ἀνδρα σάωσαι. This is said as a concession: 'we men must allow that a god can save even from afar'" (Monro, *Homeric Grammar* § 299 f.). Precisely so here: the meaning of the proverb is not *this is intelligible*, but *this must be allowed to be intelligible* or *I can no longer complain of obscurity*. See further Appendix II.

πέπληγμαι δ' ὑπὸ δῆγματι φοινίῳ
 δυσαγεί τύχα μινυρὰ θρεομένας,
 θραύματ' ἐμοὶ κλύειν.

1165

KA. ἰὼ πόνοι πόνοι πόλεος ὀλομένας

ἀντ. ἡ'.

τὸ πᾶν. ἰὼ πρόπυργοι θυσῖαι πατρὸς
 πολυκανεῖς βοτῶν ποιονόμων· ἄκος δ'
 οὐδὲν ἐπήρκεσαν

τὸ μὴ πόλιν μὲν ὥσπερ οὖν ἔχειν παθεῖν,
 ἐγὼ δὲ θερμόνους τάχ' ἐμπέδω βαλῶ.

1170

XO. ἐπόμενα προτέροις τὰδ' ἐπεφημίσω.

ἀντ. β'.

1164. δυσαγεί. μινύρα κακά.

1172. ἐφημίσω.

1163. ὑπὸ: ὑπαὶ h, ὅπως Hermann.

After all it is perhaps only an imitation of the Homeric ὑπὸ δείσας etc., which though really explained by the digamma (ὑπὸ δείσας) must have seemed to Aeschylus an arbitrary lengthening by the ictus of the verse. Such mistaken archaisms occur in all literatures. See on *Theb.* 712 in Appendix I. to that play, p. 136.

1164. *δυσαγεί...κλύειν* at the breaking misery of her piteous song which shatters me to hear it. For the correlative metaphors in *δυσαγεί...θραύματα* cf. the Homeric *ἐπεκλάσθη φίλον ἦτορ*.—*δυσαγεί* from *ἀγή* breaking (*ἄγνυμι*); cf. *δυστυχής*, *τύχη*. The spelling *δυσαγής* was probably adopted on purpose, to distinguish *δυσᾶγής* from *δυσᾶγής* impious; cf. *Ἐρινύς* for *Ἐρῆνύς* and see on *v.* 112.—*δυσαλγεί* (Canter) would not have been so mistaken, and besides the strong metaphor in *θραύματα* requires something to lead up to it.—In itself the metaphor (literally 'a shattering to hear') seems to me, as to Mr Sidgwick and others, natural enough. Dr Wecklein rejects it and reads *θράγμα δ' ἐμοὶ κλύειν* (see *θράσσω*).—*μινυρὰ θρεομένας*: on the metre see Appendix II.

1167. *πρόπυργοι* before the town or on behalf of the town (Blomfield)? Probably it would be truest to say that the first meaning is first intended, and then the second assumed by a tacit shifting of

thought.

1170. *τὸ μὴ κτλ.* As the principal sentence (*οὐδὲν ἐπήρκεσαν*) is negative, regular usage would require in the consecutive clause *μὴ οὐ*. But we cannot assume that the grammar of poetry was undeviating.—*ὥσπερ οὖν ἔχειν παθεῖν*: i.e. *ἔχειν παθεῖν ὥσπερ οὖν* (*ἔχει παθεῖν*), 'to save the city from receiving such treatment as in fact she has received'. This elliptic sentence, as preserved by both *Florentinus* and *Venetus*, is precisely analogous to the common prose use of *ὅστις δήποτε*, e.g. *ἐπαθες ὅ τι δήποτε* (*ἐπαθες*) 'you have been treated as you have been': and though no exactly parallel use of *ὥσπερ οὖν* seems to be found, it is so much in the spirit of Greek that we need not find it difficult.—The *Cod. Farn.* offers a conjecture of its usual kind, *ὥσπερ οὖν ἔχει παθεῖν*. Dr Wecklein very justly objects that this is not classic idiom, which would require either *ὥσπερ οὖν ἔχει ἔχειν* or *ὥσπερ οὖν ἐπαθε παθεῖν*, as in *v.* 1287 *πράξασαν ὡς ἐπράξεν*, *Soph. O. T.* 1376 *βλαστοῦσ' ὅπως ἐβλάσταν* etc. Dr Wecklein suggests *ὥσπερ οὖν ἔχειν ἔχει* (i.e. *ἔχειν ὥσπερ οὖν ἔχει*). But the supposed derangement in the order of the words is scarcely conceivable, or at least would require supporting illustration.

1171: *while I, the sick-brained, shall soon be sent after the wise*. See Appendix V.

1172. *ἐπεφημίσω* Paley.

καὶ τίς σε κακοφρονεῖν τίθη-
σι δαίμων ὑπερβαρῆς ἐμπίτνων,
μελίζειν πάθη γοερά θανατοφόρα·
τέρμα δ' ἀμηχανῶ.

1175

ΚΑ. καὶ μὴν ὁ χρησμὸς οὐκέτ' ἐκ καλυμμάτων
ἔσται δεδορκῶς νεογάμου νύμφας δίκην,
λαμπρὸς δ' ἔοικεν ἡλίου πρὸς ἀντολὰς
πνέων ἐσήξειν, ὥστε κύματος δίκην
κλύειν πρὸς αὐγὰς τοῦδε πῆματος πολὺ
μεῖζον· φρενώσω δ' οὐκέτ' ἐξ αἰνιγμάτων.
καὶ μαρτυρεῖτε συνδρόμῳ ἵχνος κακῶν
ρίνηλατούσῃ τῶν πάλαι πεπραγμένων.
τὴν γὰρ στέγην τήνδ' οὐποτ' ἐκλείπει χορὸς
ξύμφθογγος οὐκ εὐφωνος· οὐ γὰρ εὖ λέγει.
καὶ μὴν πεπωκὼς γ', ὥς θρασύνεσθαι πλέον,
βρότειον αἶμα κῶμος ἐν δόμοις μένει,
δύσπεμπτος ἔξω, ξυγγόνων Ἐρινύων.
ὑμνοῦσι δ' ὕμνον δώμασιν προσήμεναι·

1180

1185

1190

1186. σύμφογγος.

1173. τίς emphatic: 'and there is some power which' etc., i.e. there is inspiration in this and not mere wildness. —κακοφρονεῖν τίθησι...μελίζειν maddens thee...to sing, quasi κακοφρονεῖν τίθησιν, ὥστε μελίζειν, the infinitives being accumulated, which, separated as they are, is not objectionable. For the construction of τίθημι see L. and Sc. s.v. B. 1. 4.—κακοφρονῶν, in malice, Schütz: but 'malice' of the inspiring power is not to the purpose.—τέρμα goal, the same metaphor as in v. 1153.

1178. νύμφας perhaps by error for νύμφης, the α having come in from the neighbourhood of the lyric dialogue. But this might also affect the poet.

1179. The metaphor changes to that of a strong wind at morning, under which the rolling waves of the sea are seen relieved against the light of dawn. Cassandra, it may seem, recalls her recent voyage and the scene of the morning. "λαμπρός: the Greeks called a strong

wind bright, so here in any other language two words are required, one to be in antithesis to ἐκ καλυμμάτων, the other to suit the new metaphor of wind". Sidgwick.

1180. ἐσήξειν: 'its coming in' or 'entry shall be as of a clear fresh wind'. ἐσῆξειν Bothe: and ἐσήξειν is no doubt not the obvious word to use of a wind. But the expression is influenced by the remembrance marked in the previous note.

1181. κλύειν, i.e. κλύζειν, but we must not substitute the common form. The existence of κλύειν to hear is no reason against the co-existence of κλύω=κλύζω: cf. the analogous pairs βλύω-βλύζω, φλύω-φλύζω.

1187. ὥς: ὥστε.

1190. δώμασιν προσήμεναι besieging the chambers (?), cf. πύργους προσήσθαι, not 'sitting in the house', an impossible rendering. ἐν δόμοις (v. 1188) therefore apparently means 'in the fore-court (αὐλή)', or perhaps in the hall (μέγαρον),

πρώταρχος ἄτην ἐν μέρει δ' ἀπέπτυσαν,
 εὐνὰς ἀδελφοῦ τῷ πατοῦντι δυσμενεῖς.
 ἥμαρτον; ἢ τηρῶ τι τοξότης τις ὥς;

δῶματα being the *inner* rooms. But it must be confessed that to make a distinction between δόμοι and δῶματα is forced, and there is probably some error.—πῶμασιν προσήμεναι, *sitting at their cups* (cf. κώπη προσήμενος v. 1617), is possible, and πῶμα, the later form being πόμα, is apt to be mistaken.—αἷμασιν προσήμεναι or δῶμασιν προσημμένην Weil.

1191. *πρώταρχος...ἐν μέρει δέ* i.e. *πρώταρχος* μὲν ἐν μέρει δέ, literally 'beginning and in succession' or 'in succession from the first beginner'. The term ἄρχειν (ὕμνου, αἰοδῆς, etc.) was conventional and almost technical; see e.g. Pindar *Nem.* 3. 4—το μένοντί (σε) μελιγαρύων τέκτονες κώμων νεανίαί...ἄρχε δ' οὐρανοῦ πολυνεφέλα κρέοντι, θύγατερ, πολυδόκιμον ὕμνον, especially where as here there was a repetition and a burden to the song; so in Theocritus 1., ἄρχετε βωκοικᾶς, Μῶσαι φίλαι, ἄρχετ' αἰοδᾶς.—The sentence, being a further explanation of ὕμνοισιν ὕμνον, has according to rule no copula.—ἄτην...ἀπέπτυσαν *they denounce the sin*, cry against it. The aorist is used because the common formula of disgust was not ἀποπτύω but ἀπέπτυσα.—εὐνὰς ἀδελφοῦ may be taken in apposition to ἄτην, the accusative to πατοῦντι being supplied from it, or, perhaps better, simply with πατοῦντι, *the defiler of a brother's bed*, the order being arranged to emphasize the words εὐνὰς ἀδελφοῦ.—δυσμενεῖς "can be nominative or accusative, but it is better nominative, being (as Enger and Schneidewin observe) a grim allusion to their name Εὐμενίδες" (Sidgwick). I think also that a personification of the εὐνὰς would obscure the imagery, but it is a question of taste.—The allusion is to the adultery of Thyestes with the wife of Atreus; Atreus avenged himself by the 'banquet', for which in re-

turn vengeance is now about to be taken.—πρώταρχον ἄτην, as if depending on ὕμνοισι, *they sing of the original crime*, is the conjecture of Triclinius (*Cod. Farn.*), very improbable technically (for there is nothing in the context to produce πρώταρχος as an error) and creating difficulty. For what is the πρώταρχος ἄτη if not the sin of Thyestes? For the purpose of this play Atreus and Thyestes are the starting point, and naturally; for the crime of Thyestes had no moral connexion with anything before it, even if we assume that the various stories found elsewhere as to the earlier history of the house appeared at all in the authorities followed by Aeschylus. We cannot introduce here, against authority, an obscure reference to events lying outside the scope of the play.

1193. *Have I missed? Or do I at all take observation, like one that aimeth a shot? Or am I a false prophet, a babbler and a vagabond? Bear witness, swearing first, that I know the ancient sins in the story of this house.* τηρῶ 'to watch for an opportunity', is generally used with phrases expressing the nature of the opportunity (a favourable moment, a wind, a dark night, etc., see L. and Sc. s.v.), but here absolutely, the nature of the opportunity, the time to shoot, being implied by the context. As applied here the metaphor in τηρῶ is the same which we use (but have ceased to feel as metaphorical) in 'to speak *circumspectly*'. The second question (τηρῶ τι;) corrects the metaphor of the first (ἥμαρτον;). 'Missing' implies 'aiming'; it implies conjecture or *taking a shot*, as we say. But Cassandra *knows* (v. 1196): and this, she says, may be seen in the manner of her affirmation. The quack fortune-teller, who comes to your door and wishes to

ἢ ψευδόμαντις εἰμι θυροκόπος φλέδων;
ἐκμαρτύρησον προὔμοσας τό μ' εἰδέναι
λόγῳ παλαιὰς τῶνδ' ἁμαρτίας δόμων.

1195

ΧΟ. καὶ πῶς ἂν ὄρκος, πῆμα γενναίως παγέν,
παιώνιον γένοιτο; θαυμάζω δέ σου,

win confidence by a good hit, will be vague at first and not hazard anything till he gets a hint; he will 'watch, like one that shooteth'. Not so Cassandra, who in *εὐνὰς ἀδελφοῦ* has gone without hesitation to a fact ancient, secret, and *definite*. Therefore she *knows*. The eagerness of the prophetess that her reputation should be attested is not the least pathetic feature in the situation.—*εἰδέναι* opposed to *τοπάζειν* as in *v.* 1368 and *P. V.* 947 *ἐγὼ τὰδ' οἶδα*.—*λόγῳ παλαιὰς old in story*.—The sense here depends entirely on the emphatic meaning of *εἰδέναι*. If this be missed, there is no connexion. Hence the suspicion of *τηρῶ* (*κυρῶ* Ahrens and others), it being supposed that *v.* 1193 should mean 'Do I miss or hit?': but then *τοξότης τις ὥς* is superfluous. Hence also *τὸ μὴ εἰδέναι λόγῳ* (Hermann), translated 'that I do not know by report'. But this would require *τὸ μ' εἰδέναι μὴ λόγῳ*, and moreover Cassandra has done nothing to disprove, if it be supposed likely, that she knew the facts *λόγῳ*.

1197. *And how could an oath mend matters, a thing framed in its nature to do harm? πῆμα γενναίως παγέν framed naturally to be a hurt.* *γενναίως*: 'according to its *γέννα* or nature'. This is the proper meaning of *γενναίως* as defined by Aristotle, *Hist. An.* 1. 1. 32 *τὸ γενναῖον ἐστὶ τὸ μὴ ἐξιστάμενον ἐκ τῆς αὐτοῦ φύσεως*: see *Hom. Il.* 5. 253 *οὐ μοι γενναῖον ἀλυσκάζοντι μάχεσθαι* (cited in *L.* and *Sc. s.v.*). The meaning is this: the essential function of a *ὄρκος*, properly the thing by which the oath is sworn, is that it causes the person swearing falsely by it to suffer certain penalties: *except in the case of*

falsehood it does not act at all, and in that case, as was and still is the belief of superstition, *it acts mechanically* and without regard to qualifying considerations, such as *bona fides*. No superstitious person therefore (including the ancient Greeks universally) will ever swear solemnly to a thing unless he is compelled to do so or has an object to gain; and it is often, as every one knows, difficult to make such a person take an oath upon a proper occasion. The function of the *ὄρκος* is here expressed by calling it *πῆμα*, precisely as Hesiod (*Theog.* 792) calls the Styx, the *ὄρκος θεῶν, μέγα πῆμα θεοῖσι*, and thereupon states the penalty suffered in case of falsehood. The speaker therefore here, in the true spirit of canny superstition, declines to swear to Cassandra's knowledge (which is not exactly proved after all), as the oath, he says, could do no good and would only expose the swearer unnecessarily to the danger of falsehood.—*παιώνιον* 'a thing of remedy'; the neuter better suits the antithesis between *παιώνιον* and *πῆμα*.—*πῆγμα γενναίως παγέν* (a compact (?) honestly ratified), the conjecture of Auratus, makes the words not pointless but contrary to the point; for if it were in the nature of a *ὄρκος* to be *παιώνιον* at all, it would certainly be more so if honestly sworn than otherwise.

1198. *θαυμάζω δέ*. They admit that her accuracy is surprising.—*σου* should not be changed to *σε* (Auratus). The construction is like the common *θαυμάζω τί τινος* 'to wonder at something in a person'. Here the accusative is represented by the following infinitive sentence *κυρεῖν κτλ.*

πόντου πέραν τραφεῖσαν ἀλλόθρου πόλιν
κυρεῖν λέγουσαν ὥσπερ εἰ παρεστάτεις.

1200

ΚΑ. μάντις μ' Ἀπόλλων τῷδ' ἐπέστησεν τέλει....
προτοῦ μὲν αἰδῶς ἦν ἐμοὶ λέγειν τάδε....

ΧΟ. μῶν καὶ θεός περ ἰμέρῳ πεπληγμένος;
ἀβρύνεται γὰρ πᾶς τις εὖ πράσσων πλέον.

ΚΑ. ...ἀλλ' ἦν παλαιστῆς κάρτ' ἐμοὶ πνέων χάριν.

1205

ΧΟ. ἦ καὶ τέκνων εἰς ἔργον ἤλθετον νόμφ;

ΚΑ. ξυναινέσασα Λοξίαν ἐψευσάμην.

ΧΟ. ἤδη τέχναισιν ἐνθέοις ἤρημένη;

ΚΑ. ἤδη πολίταις πάντ' ἐθέσπιζον πάθη.

ΧΟ. πῶς δῆτ' ἄνακτος ἦσθα Λοξίου κότφ;

1210

ΚΑ. ἔπειθον οὐδέν' οὐδέν, ὥς τάδ' ἤμπλακον.

ΧΟ. ἡμῖν γε μὲν δὴ πιστὰ θεσπίζειν δοκεῖς.

ΚΑ. ἰοὺ ἰοῦ, ὦ ὦ κακά.

ὑπ' αὐτὸν με δεινὸς ὀρθομαντείας πόνος

1199. ἀλλόθρου ὥσπερ κτλ.: 'should be as right on the subject of an alien town as if' etc.—κυρεῖν absolutely, like *τυχεῖν*, *to be right*.—ἀλλόθρου πόλιν. The object of λέγουσαν (the theme *spoken of*, cf. λέγων χειμῶνα *v.* 653) is accommodated by a bold compression of phrase to εἰ παρεστάτεις. The expanded prose version would be λέγουσαν τὰ ἐν ἄλλῃ πόλει γενόμενα, ὥσπερ εἰ παρήσθα οὐπὲρ ἐγένετο.

1201. For better warrant of her prophetic power, she begins to relate from whom and how dearly she purchased it, but pauses in an agony of shame. The Argives, who have heard the strange story by rumour (*v.* 1083), prompt her with a question, observing, as an excuse for pressing her, that delicacy was better suited to her former condition than her present! In spite of their sympathy they insist on gratifying their Greek (perhaps rather Athenian) curiosity. This again is no small addition to the nature and pathos of the scene. It is worth while to compare that in which the Coloniates, avowedly for no serious purpose, insist on dragging

a confession of his past story out of the reluctant Oedipus (*Soph. O.C.* 510 foll.). Here the unhappy woman sacrifices her modesty to her intense desire for belief.—On the details of the story which follows see Appendix W.

1204 answers the scruple expressed in *v.* 1202, but it is unnecessary and injurious to change for this reason the positions of *v.* 1202 and *v.* 1203. γάρ introduces, as often, not a proof of what has been said, but a justification for saying it, here for putting the preceding question.

1205. She continues, with an effort; ἀλλὰ answers to μὲν in *v.* 1203.

1213. The agony of prophecy comes upon her again.

1214. δεινός or δῖνος (*M. Schmidt, Wecklein*)? I do not find any clear ground for decision. δῖνος certainly fits excellently with στροβεί, and the epithet δεινός might be thought rather to weaken the language. On the other hand, it can hardly be said that πόνος στροβεί με, *the pain twists me*, is defective, and if δῖνος be taken, we must either take πόνος as in apposition, which clogs the verse, or

στροβεί ταρασσών φροιμίους—ἐφημένους... 1215
 ὀράτε; ...τούσδε...τοὺς δόμοις ἐφημένους...
 νέους, ὀνείρων προσφερεῖς μορφώμασιν.
 παῖδες θανόντες ὥσπερ εἰ πρὸς τῶν φίλων,
 χεῖρας κρεῶν πλήθοντες οἰκείας βορᾶς,
 σὺν ἐντέροις τε σπλάγχν', ἐποίκτιστον γέμος, 1220
 πρέπουσ' ἔχοντες, ὧν πατὴρ ἐγεύσατο.
 ἐκ τῶνδε ποιναὺς φημὶ βουλευεῖν τινα
 λέοντ' ἀναλκιν ἐν λέχει στρωφόμενον
 οἰκουρόν, οὔμοι, τῷ μολόντι, δεσπότην
 ἐμῷ· φέρειν γὰρ χρὴ τὸ δούλιον ζυγόν. 1225
 νεῶν τ' ἀπαρχος Ἴλιου τ' ἀναστάτης

1220. γέμ.

change it (with Wecklein) to πόνων, which again makes a heavy construction.—ὄπό, an adverb, signifying the *unseen* and *gradual* coming on of the fit.

1215. *φροιμίους*, *beginning* of greater pain to come, as in *Theb.* 7.—*ἐφημένους*. May we not demur to the general assumption that this word has come in by error from the next line? Surely, as it stands, it is much more than justifiable. No doubt at *φροιμίους* the sentence, though grammatically complete, is rhythmically incomplete: a full stop after the fourth foot is very rare, and *φροιμίους* wants an epithet. Doubtless also the sentence *ἐφημένους κτλ.* is misshapen and disarranged. But all this is part of the intended effect. Suddenly, in the very midst of her cries of pain, the vision itself bursts upon her, and she points to it with wild broken exclamations, *Sitting there!... do ye see them?...there!...sitting before the house...young children...like phantom forms*, etc.

1216. ὀράτε;, best taken (with Hermann) as a question.—*δόμοις ἐφημένους* 'sitting before' the house, *i.e.* as suppliants at the door, or at the altar before the door; see *βρέτας ἐφήμενος*, *Eum.* 412. For the construction cf. *ἐφεστάναι πύλαις* to stand at a gate, *ἐφεστάναι πόλει*

to lie before a city (of an army), and see *Theb.* 525.

1218. *Like children slain by those that should love them*. This, with the reference to *dream-phantoms*, seems to presume a belief that the children of infanticides haunted the house in this way, a belief very natural, where, as in the historic age of Greece, infanticide was admitted in theory but reprobated if not prohibited in practice.—Without some such explanation the words *παῖδες...φίλων* seem wanting in force, and it may also be observed that we cannot quite properly join together as parallel words *θανόντες...πλήθοντες...ἔχοντες*, because in that case there should either be no copula (*τε*) at all, or else another copula (*χεῖρας τε*). As it is, *τε* couples *πλήθοντες* with *ἔχοντες*, and *παῖδες...φίλων* is a separate clause, qualifying the whole sentence and explained by what precedes.

1219. *οἰκείας βορᾶς*: because the flesh of the children was the flesh of the father himself.

1224. *δεσπότη ἐμῷ· φέρειν γὰρ*. The appellation 'lord of me', and the humble acknowledgement, have here a bitterly ironical effect.

1226. *νεῶν...ἀναστάτης* *He that for Troy destroyed hath lost his sovereign fleet*,

οὐκ οἶδεν οἶα γλώσσα μισητῆς κυνός,
λέξασα κάκτεινᾶσα φαιδρόνους δίκην
ἄτης λαθραίου, τεύξεται κακῇ τύχῃ.

1228. καὶ κτείνᾶσα.

literally 'being at once discomanded of his fleet and destroyer of Troy'. The conjunctions τε...τε mark the close union of the two descriptions. Agamemnon is ἀναστάτης Ἰλίου and νεῶν ἄπαρχος therefore also. The two are thus linked by the Trojan captive in bitter satire: the wreck and dispersion of the fleet was the direct consequence of the sacrilegious destruction and razing (ἀνάστασις) of Troy (vv. 350, 640), and on the destruction of the fleet in turn depended the fate of Agamemnon himself (see the *Introduction*). Here as before (see on v. 532) the Athenian poet has in mind the destruction of Athens and its punishment at Salamis.—ἄπαρχος: for the form (from ἀρχή), cf. ἀπόπολις, ἀποστράτηγος etc. The genitive case (νεῶν) follows the privative according to rule.—ἐπαρχος Canter. Although this suggestion has been so long incorporated with the text that it may seem a sacrilegious ἀνάστασις to disturb it, I cannot but think it doubly and trebly wrong; for (1) ἐπαρχος, meaning *praefectus*, one placed in command by another (see L. and Sc. s.v.), is a word quite inappropriate to the position of Agamemnon; (2) no one would have invented or blundered into the unique word ἄπαρχος, having before him ἐπαρχος, in later Greek extremely common as an official title; and (3) τε...τε requires a close connexion of the descriptions, as is explained above. If the whole sentence had a conjunction, it would be δέ (G. Voss), not τε. But it is treated as an explanation of the preceding (βουλεύειν τινὰ κτλ.), and has no conjunction (cf. v. 334).

1227—1229. κάκτεινᾶσα Canter. *He knows not how the tongue of that lewd creature hath spoken and stretched, with joyful thoughts, her plea and cast of treacher-*

ous harm, which fatally shall succeed. οἶα adverbial accusative, equivalent to ὅπως, qualifying the whole sentence. λέξασα...λαθραίου describes, with allusive ambiguity, the queen's reception of Agamemnon. The expressions are loaded, indeed over-loaded, with double meaning. (1) In relation to γλώσσα...λέξασα, the word δίκην means primarily *plea* (cf. the common phrase εἰπεῖν δίκην and contrast δίκας οὐκ ἀπὸ γλώσσης v. 804): Clytemnestra's whole address (v. 846) is a δίκη in this sense, an exculpation of herself. We are also reminded of her ambiguous δίκη in v. 902. In this connexion ἐκτείνᾶσα means *lengthening*, and refers to the artificial length of her address, noted by Agamemnon (v. 907 μακρὰν γὰρ ἐξέτεινας) in similar terms. But (2) in ἐκτείνᾶσα δίκην...τεύξεται there is also involved another sense of δίκη, connected with δίκη *justice* very remotely if at all, namely a *cast* (as of a net) from δικεῖν *to throw* (cf. βόλος from βάλλειν and note the similar derivation of δίκτυον). To δίκην in this sense ἐκτείνειν *to reach forth* (cf. ἐκτείνειν τὴν χεῖρα) is literally applicable, and in this metaphor the allusive phrases naturally meet.—ἄτης λαθραίου belongs primarily, as defining genitive, to δίκην but determines the meaning of τεύξεται *will reach (the object)*.—I give here the explanation, or rather explanations, of (1) Mr Macnaghten (*Journal of Philology*, xvi. p. 213) and (2) Mr J. B. Bury (*Classical Review* i. 241). Both satisfy me, and the second exactly supplies, I think, what is wanting, as Mr Macnaghten candidly points out, to the first, *viz.* an explanation why the poet should permit himself a phrase so far from natural as ἐκτείνειν δίκην is, if we recognize only the first sense of δίκη.—See further Appendix X.

τοιάδε τόλμα, θῆλυς ἄρσενος φονεύς.

1230

ἔστιν—τί νιν καλοῦσα δυσφιλὲς δάκος

τύχοιμ' ἄν; ἀμφίσβαιναν, ἣ Σκύλλαν τινὰ

οἰκοῦσαν ἐν πέτραισι, ναυτίλων βλάβην,

θύουσαν "Αἰδου λήτορ' ἄσπονδόν τ' ἀρὰν

1230. τολμᾶ.

1231. δυσφιλεὺς.

1234. μητέρ'.

1230. *So daring is her intent, the woman slaying the man!* τοιάδε: so daring, that he cannot suspect it. θῆλυς... φονεύς, where θῆλυς is in effect subject and φονεύς predicate, stand in loose apposition, as an exclamation, to τόλμα or to the sentence τοιάδε τόλμα (ἔστι), exactly as in the corresponding English.—With the punctuation θῆλυς...ἔστιν., the division of the rhythm is bad and ἔστιν not correct.—τόλμα H. L. Ahrens.

1231. ἔστιν—τί νιν κτλ. *She is—ah, what should the loveless monster be fitly called?* She pauses for words.

1233. ναυτίλων βλάβην. The circumstances of the king's arrival give point to the comparison.

1234. θύουσαν: an ambiguous word such as Aeschylus affects, particularly in oracular passages. Primarily the reference is to the *sacrifices* which play so important a part in the plot. (See particularly *vv.* 592—599 ἀνωλόλυξα...ῥωμὸς δ' ἔθνον and note ἐπωλόλυξαι below.) But "Αἰδου suggests also the sense *raging* (from the other θύω) which is generally, and so far rightly, here taken. The first however cannot be left out of sight in this context and after what has preceded. The point lies in the ambiguity: her *sacrifice* is the ritual of a *Fury*.—"Αἰδου μητέρα (?): a very doubtful expression. Mr Sidgwick translates it by *Dam of Death*, which sounds well; but we have to remember that *Hades* is strictly a proper name, the deity of the lower world. To describe a woman as *mother of Hades* seems beyond the artistic limits of raging. λήτορα O. Müller, followed by Wecklein (from Hesychius, λειτορες· ἱέρειαι, and λήτειραι· ἱέρειαι, and λήτειραι·

ἱέρειαι τῶν σεμνῶν θεῶν: cf. *v.* 736 ἱερεὺς ἄρας), priestess of Hades. This fits exactly and may be provisionally taken. If μητέρ' can be retained, it must be, I think, by taking it in the sense not of *mother* but, which is possible in itself, of *matron*, and translating *like a matron of Hades*. But I do not maintain this.

ib. θύουσαν...πνέουσαν offering her fiendish sacrifice, like a priestess of Death, even while in the prayer of her soul her husband has no part. τε couples θύουσαν to πνέουσαν, contrasting them as things which should not coexist.—ἄσπονδον ἀρὰν φίλοις. The dative depends on ἄσπονδον. We should not change ἀρὰν to "Αρην (or "Αρη), particularly if λήτορα be accepted. If "Αρης suggests the notion of σπονδαί, so also does ἀρά (see *v.* 464). An ἀρά created a bond between those who joined in the σπονδαί (*libation*) by which it was typified. An ἀρά which is ἄσπονδος τινι is a prayer in which that person can have no part. The prayers with which Clytaemnestra secretly accompanied her pretended sacrifice for her husband's return were curses upon his head and vows of the success of her ξυνωμύται. It is in fact the 'conjunction' which is here in view, and if we were better informed respecting that part of the story, we should probably appreciate the point more perfectly.—πνέουσαν signifies that she sacrifices *in the spirit* of imprecation, as we say, preserving the same metaphor in a dead form. The *breath* is in Greek a standing type of the purpose or feeling with which any one is, as we say again, *animated*.—φίλοις: the typical word in Attic poetry for the husband or wife.

φίλοις πνέουσαν; ὥς δ' ἐπωλολύξατο
 ἡ παντότολμος, ὥσπερ ἐν μάχης τροπῇ,
 δοκεῖ δὲ χαίρειν νοστήμῳ σωτηρίᾳ.
 καὶ τῶνδ' ὅμοιον εἴ τι μὴ πείθω· τί γάρ;
 τὸ μέλλον ἥξει. καὶ σὺ μὴν τάχει παρῶν
 ἄγαν γ' ἀληθόμαντιν οἰκτείρας ἐρεῖς. 1240

ΧΟ. τὴν μὲν Θυέστου δαῖτα παιδείων κρεῶν
 ξυνῆκα καὶ πέφρικα, καὶ φόβος μ' ἔχει
 κλύοντ' ἀληθῶς οὐδὲν ἐξηκασμένα·
 τὰ δ' ἄλλ' ἀκούσας ἐκ δρόμου πεσὼν τρέχω.

ΚΑ. Ἀγαμέμνονός σε φήμ' ἐπόψεσθαι μόρον. 1245

ΧΟ. εὐφημον, ὦ τάλαινα, κοίμησον στόμα.

ΚΑ. ἀλλ' οὔτι παιῶν τῷδ' ἐπιστατεῖ λόγῳ.

ΧΟ. οὐκ, εἰ πάρεσται γ'· ἀλλὰ μὴ γένοιτό πως.

1241. παιδίων.

1236. ὥσπερ...τροπῇ *as at the moment of victory*. Kennedy rightly understands this of Clytaemnestra's victorious revenge, which is the real subject of her joy. The figure is from women watching a fight and raising the ὀλοολυγμός when they see the enemy fly.

1237. δοκεῖ δὲ *though she pretends*.

1238: literally, 'it is all one if I am as to any point herein not believed'.

1239. καὶ σὺ μὴν *nay, thou thyself ere long, a present witness*, etc. μὴν marks the climax upon τὸ μέλλον ἥξει. The fact can scarcely be called τὸ μέλλον: the elders are there to see it.—καὶ emphasizes σὺ, *thy very self*.

1240. γε. As for confirmation of her truth, that *at least* will be only too complete.—In order to provide a pronominal object in this sentence μὴν has been altered to μ' ἐν (Auratus) or γ' to μ' (Pauw), changes both undesirable in themselves. But is there any need for a pronoun? The effect of the sentence as it stands is *thou wilt say with compassion 'A prophetess only too true'*. The object is not με, but μάντιν, 'thou wilt call the prophetess only too true a prophetess', and this object is to be supplied out of

the predicate ἀληθόμαντιν itself.

1241. παιδείων Schütz.

1243. ἀληθῶς...ἐξηκασμένα *what is in truth no mere vague semblance*. They admit that her utterances have as she asserts (*v.* 1193) all the character of reality. Cf. *Theb.* 432.

1244. ἐκ...τρέχω *I am thrown off the track*, at a loss.

1246. εὐφημον: a technical expression of religion. They remind her with horror that she is in the presence of the gods of the house, in whose honour a sacrifice is now being performed, so that abstinence from ominous words is a religious duty. From the reference to Παιῶν (*Apollo*) in the answer it appears that they point specially at the *Agyieus* (*v.* 1065).

1247. *Nay, it is not as saviour that he directs this sentence*, but as ἀπόλλων (see *v.* 1065, and contrast *v.* 517 νῦν...ἔσθι παιῶνιος).—ἐπιστατεῖν λόγῳ 'to govern it', or see it carried out.

1248. *No indeed, if he means to appear; but I trust it shall not be so, i.e. I trust it is an idle prediction which the god does not support, and will not see executed*. But a moment later Cassandra

ΚΑ. σὺ μὲν κατεύχει, τοῖς δ' ἀποκτείνειν μέλει.

ΧΟ. τίνος πρὸς ἀνδρὸς τοῦτ' ἄχος πορσύνεται; 1250

ΚΑ. ἡ κάρτ' ἄρ' ἂν παρεσκόπεις χρησμῶν ἐμῶν.

ΧΟ. τοῦ γὰρ τελούντος οὐ ξυνήκα μηχανήν.

ΚΑ. καὶ μὴν ἄγαν γ' Ἑλλην' ἐπίσταμαι φάτιν.

ΧΟ. καὶ γὰρ τὰ πυθόκραντα· δυσπυθῆ δ' ὅμως.

ΚΑ. παπαῖ, οἶον τὸ πῦρ· ἐπέρχεται δέ μοι. 1255

ὁτοτοῖ, Λύκει' Ἀπολλων, οἷ ἐγὼ ἐγώ.

αὕτη δίπους λείαινα συγκοιμωμένη

λύκῳ λέοντος εὐγενοῦς ἀπουσία.

1251. ^η παρεσκόπεις.

1254. δυσπαθῆ.

1257. δίπους.

beholds the god himself (*v.* 1268). It is to be remembered that Agamemnon, as well as Cassandra, was a sinner against Apollo in having violated his sanctuary. The apparition of the god here at the crisis is a forecast of his leading part in the following plays.—*ἐπερ ἔσται* (Schütz) assumes (I think wrongly) that the subject of the verb is ὁ λόγος.

1250. They are thinking of Aegisthus; hence ἀνδρός.

1251. *Thou must indeed have missed clean the purport of my revelation*, literally 'must have looked much wide of (παρά)'. For the tense with *ἄν* see *v.* 924 and note there.—There is apparently no reason to doubt this reading, which according to Wecklein (Vitelli) is original in *f*, *η* being merely written above the *ει*, a suggestion arising from a confused notion that *ἄν* required the subjunctive termination (see *vv.* 926, 927). *παρεσκόπης h*.—Note that by the caesural division of *παρ-εσκόπεις* an emphasis is thrown upon *παρά* (an adverb), and cf. *Theb.* 525. In fact *παρεσκόπεις* is not one word but two.—*ἡ κάρτα τᾶρα παρεκόπης* Hartung; but apart from the evidence, *παρακόπτομαι* is scarcely the right word for the place. There is no reason to suggest that they have been *deluded*.

1252: literally 'of the person likely to perform it I do not understand the device', *i.e.* 'I do not see how he, whom

I should naturally suspect of the design, has any means of executing it'. ὁ τελῶν is Aegisthus, as in *v.* 1250. It would be impossible that the elders, knowing what they did, should not have their minds turned in this direction by Cassandra's words. But as they say, what they do not comprehend is how the adulterers *can* act, assuming of course that they are not mad. The *μηχανή* is the conspiracy. It is the very foundation of the whole play that the king's friends do not know the strength of their enemies and the extent of their preparations.—*τοὺς τελούντας* (Heimsoeth) perverts the meaning.

1253. ἄγαν γε: by the fatal inspiration of Apollo, which adds a point to the next verse.

1254. *δυσπυθῆ* hard to enquire of, hard to learn, from *πυθέσθαι*: cf. *εὐπιθῆς*. I give this in preference to *δυσμαθῆ* (Stephanus), both as being more liable to mistake than a word so familiar, and also for the assonance to *πυθόκραντα*, which is, I think, Aeschylean in manner. The error might arise through the mis-spelling *δυσποιθῆ*.

1255. ἐπέρχεται *it is coming*, the prophetic seizure.

1257. *δίπους* Victorious.—*αὕτη* See *there...!* It is better to stop the sentence at *ἀπουσία*.

κτενεῖ με τὴν τάλαιναν· ὥς δὲ φάρμακον
 τεύχουσα κάμου μισθὸν ἐνθήσει κότῳ. 1260
 ἐπεύχεται θήγουσα φωτὶ φάσγανον
 ἐμῆς ἀγωγῆς ἀντιτίσασθαι φόνον.
 τί δῆτ' ἐμαυτῆς καταγέλωτ' ἔχω τάδε,
 καὶ σκῆπτρα καὶ μαντεῖα περὶ δέρῃ στέφῃ;
 σὲ μὲν πρὸ μοίρας τῆς ἐμῆς διαφθερῶ. 1265
 ἵτ' ἐς φθόρον πεσόντα θ' ὧδ' ἀμείβομαι.
 ἄλλην τιν' ἄτην ἀντ' ἐμοῦ πλουτίζετε.
 ἰδοὺ δ' Ἀπόλλων αὐτὸς ἐκδύων ἐμὲ
 χρηστηρίαν ἐσθῆτ'· ἐποπτεύσας δέ με
 καὶ τοῖσδε κόσμοις καταγελωμένην μετὰ, 1270

1266. ἀγαθὸν δ' ἀμείβομαι (corr. to ἀμείβομαι).

1259—1260. *She brews, as it were, a medicine for her wrath and will add to it (as an ingredient) also the recompense for me, i.e. the revenge for the insult done to her as a wife. κότῳ, dative 'of interest', belongs to the whole sentence, both to τεύχουσα and to ἐνθήσει, the wrath, i.e. the craving for vengeance, being personified as the patient to be cured.—κότῳ is indispensable here to make φάρμακον τεύχουσα intelligible. Since the meaning of κόσμος is such that it cannot possibly depend on ἐν in ἐνθήσει, or make any sense with ἐνθήσει except that intended, there is no obscurity; and the order of words is in itself natural.—πότῳ (Auratus) leaves the simile of φάρμακον unexplained.—The abrupt recommencement ἐπεύχεται κτλ. is effective and in character (vv. 1218, 1222, 1226, 1267).*

1264. σκῆπτρα...στέφῃ: at each word she dashes down the thing named.—σκῆπτρα her divining wands.

1265. σὲ: some other object, uncertain without the scenic explanation, "an image of Apollo, I guess, which she wore on her head or breast" (Munro, *J. Ph.* XI. 140).

1266. 'Down, cursed things, to the ground, where thus I take my vengeance on you!' She tramples the insignia under foot. See Appendix Y.

1267. 'As I am destroyed, be your rich substance in its own way destroyed too!', literally 'enrich another kind of destruction in return for the destruction of me'. ἄτην πλουτίζετε *enrich Destruction, i.e. 'be destroyed', as in Soph. O. T. 30* "Αἰδὼς στεναγμοῖς καὶ γόοις πλουτίζεται, but here with more point in so far as the notion of πλοῦτος is literally appropriate to the robes and insignia.—ἄλλην τινά (according to prose usage ἐτέραν τινά) marks the fanciful analogy. If the insignia cannot be *killed*, like Cassandra, they can at least be *spoiled*.—ἀντ' ἐμοῦ, as in the *comparatio compendiaria*, for ἀντὶ τῆς ἐμῆς ἄτης. She expresses more precisely the idea of ἀμείβομαι in v. 1266.—The reading here is correct. The suggested changes (ἄτης Hermann, etc.) proceed on the assumption that the required meaning is 'Bestow yourselves on another'. But the insignia are not to go to another; they are, as she says, to be destroyed.

1269: *having enjoyed the sight of me exposed, even in and along with this sacred garb, to the derision of friend and foe alike—all in vain!*...

1270. μετὰ: 'together with them' *i.e.* with the κόσμοι. Here, as in v. 591 σὺν δὲ πλουτίζειν ἐμέ: and again in v. 1644, the adverbial preposition is emphasized

φίλων ὑπ' ἐχθρῶν οὐ διχορρόπως, μάτην
 (καλουμένην δέ, φοιτὰς ὡς, ἀγύρτρια
 πτωχὸς τάλαινα λιμοθυῆς ἡνιοσχόμην),
 καὶ νῦν ὁ μάντις μάντιν ἐκπράξας ἐμέ
 ἀπήγαγ' ἐς τοιάσδε θανασίμους τύχας.
 βωμοῦ πατρώου δ' ἀντ' ἐπίξηνον μένει
 θερμῷ κοπέισης φοινίῳ προσφάγματι.
 οὐ μὴν ἄτιμοί γ' ἐκ θεῶν τεθνήξομεν.

1275

1278. ἄτιμόν (corr. to ἄτιμοί).

by separation, so as to mark the point. Apollo had punished Cassandra with such unscrupulous cruelty, that while she was mocked, he cared not if the sacred emblems of his own religion were exposed to indignity 'along with' her. **μετά** here means οὐκ ἄνευ τούτων precisely as σύν in *v.* 591 means μὴ ἄνευ τῶν ἄλλων.—The adverb μέγα (Hermann) would much weaken the expression, while μετά, properly understood, reinforces it.

1271. φίλων...διχορρόπως *by friends and foes indifferently*, disbelieved, that is, in Argos just as formerly in Troy (Hermann, Peile, Conington etc.). The absence of a copula between φίλων and ἐχθρῶν depends on the same principle of antithesis as ἄνω κάτω ἡρ and δῶν, ἀνδρῶν γυναικῶν *Soph. Ant.* 1079, δάκνειν δάκνεσθαι *Aristoph. Frogs*, 861 (Kühner, § 546, 5, ε, d).—Others join φίλων, as an adjective, to ἐχθρῶν or *vice versa*, or take together μετά and φίλων. But the context, particularly the words οὐ διχορρόπως, shows the meaning intended.—μάτην. As the prophecies were still disbelieved, the mockery was borne in vain.—The construction of μάτην with καταγελομένην requires a pause after διχορρόπως and consequently a sharp and peculiar emphasis on the final word. This however I think to be legitimate and effective, especially as the exclamation μάτην is explained and expanded in the two parenthetic verses which follow.

1273. τάλαινα *Alas!*

V. Æ. A.

1274. καὶ νῦν resumes the main sentence. As Apollo has followed with revengeful delight her sufferings as a prophetess, so *now also* he has come to witness the last penalty.—μάντιν ἐκπράξας ἐμέ 'having finished my seership', 'having done with me', as it were, 'as a seer'. *Finished* here is not quite the same thing as *destroyed* (*Soph. O. C.* 1659); Cassandra the μάντις is 'finished', as having completed her punishment so far as it was to be inflicted through the prophetic gift. In sign of which the god by her own hands has stripped off the fatal emblems.

1276—1277: *and in place of the altar of my home there awaits me the victim's block, a victim struck ere yet her predecessor's blood be cold.*—κοπέισης, possessive, depending on ἐπίξηνον, literally, 'the block of one struck'. That κοπέισα is strictly general in sense also explains the use of the timeless aorist.—θερμῷ...φοινίῳ προσφάγματι. The arrangement of the words shows that θερμῷ is a predicate to φοινίῳ προσφάγματι: a prose-writer, if he had used this dative at all, would have distinguished the subject further by the article, τῷ φοινίῳ προσφάγματι. The literal translation is 'upon the before-shed (or first-shed) blood being warm'. The dative is that which, on the analogy of the genitive, is sometimes called 'absolute'. See further Appendix Z. The πρόσφαγμα in this case is the blood of Agamemnon.

1278. τεθνήξομεν *wp*, strictly plural,

ἤξει γὰρ ἡμῶν ἄλλος αὖ τιμάορος,
 μητροκτόνον φίτυμα, ποινάτωρ πατρός· 1280
 φυγὰς δ' ἀλήτης τῆσδε γῆς ἀπόξενος
 κάτεισιν ἄτας τάσδε θριγκώσων φίλοις·
 ἄξει νιν ὑπτίασμα κειμένου πατρός.
 τί δῆτ' ἐγὼ κάτοικος ὦδ' ἀναστένω;
 ἐπεὶ τὸ πρῶτον εἶδον Ἴλιου πόλιν 1285
 πράξασαν ὡς ἔπραξεν, οἷ δ' εἶχον πόλιν

1283. ἄξειν νιν.

Cassandra and Agamemnon, as appears from ποινάτωρ πατρός in *v.* 1280.—Observe that this change to the plural is naturally accounted for by *v.* 1277 as above explained.—ἄτιμοι *unregarded*.

1283. ἄξει *g, h.* Hermann retaining ἄξειν (*f*) inserts here *v.* 1289, but see note there.—ὑπτίασμα: a word almost unique, of which only a conjectural explanation can be given. It means literally 'the turning of a thing upside down'. Thus the position of the hands in prayer with the palms upwards is ὑπτίασμα χειρῶν. Here it refers to the overthrow of the fallen (κειμένου) Agamemnon. But it cannot be supposed that the poet, without some special reason, would describe so simple a matter by such a far-fetched and unnatural word, or that ὑπτίασμα κειμένου πατρός is merely a verbose equivalent for κείμενος πατήρ. As this verse is in form a commentary on the preceding, it is there we should look for the explanation. The only expression there likely to suggest remark is θριγκώσων, also a very rare word and a not common metaphor. I think therefore that with this metaphor ὑπτίασμα must be connected; the ὑπτίασμα (this is the connexion required) of Agamemnon's fall will bring or lead to the θριγκός of Orestes' vengeance. The θριγκός was the finish of a piece of building, such as the coping stone of a wall, the *abacus* of a capital, etc.: and ὑπτίασμα therefore, to suit the metaphorical application, should be what comes before, *i.e.* below, the

θριγκός. Now in all building, unless on a very small scale, the projection of the θριγκός is secured and connected with the vertical by an inward slope; and this slope is effected by a stone or piece which is a ὑπτίασμα in the proper sense, having a larger end and a smaller, and standing upon the smaller, *i.e.* upside down. More particularly in the capital of a pillar, the inward-sloping part (in Doric architecture the *echinus*), which carries the *abacus* or flat top, is precisely a ὑπτίασμα. I should conjecture therefore that to this part of a wall or column the term ὑπτίασμα, or some term (*e.g.* τὸ ὑπτιον) naturally suggesting this, was familiarly applied. It is of course but a guess, and the reader's knowledge may supply a better. But that ὑπτίασμα is used here to make a point seems to me certain, and nearly certain that this point is connected with the θριγκός. For the same architectural metaphor with the same application see *v.* 1339.

1284. ἐγὼ κάτοικος *I that am come to my home.* κάτοικος means 'one who settles' or takes up his abode in a place; it does not seem to have been in common use but is suggested here by κάτεισι in *v.* 1282. In bitter irony Cassandra identifies herself as she has been bidden to do (*v.* 1020) with the house of Agamemnon, and chides herself for delaying to enter where she is to abide.—κάτοικτος Scaliger, but surely without need.

1286. εἶχον corrected to εἶλον (Muscgrave), and otherwise, on the ground

οὕτως ἀπαλλάσσουσιν ἐκ θεῶν κρίσει,
 ἰοῦσα πράξω, τλήσομαι τὸ κατθανεῖν.
 ὁμόμοται γὰρ ὄρκος ἐκ θεῶν μέγας.
 "Αἰδου πύλας δὲ τάσδ' ἐγὼ προσεννέπω.

1290

1290. τὰς λέγω.

that an aorist is required. This however seems to be an error. The imperfect tense is correctly used in contrast to the succeeding present ἀπαλλάσσουσιν: cf. *v.* 709 ὑμέναιον ὃς τότ' ἐπέρεπε γαμβροῖσιν ἀεῖδεν. οἱ δ' εἶχον is literally 'those who (then) were the takers (of the town)'. (As *σχεῖν* is to *take*, so *εἶχειν* is to *be taking*, as in *v.* 670.)—*πάλιν* Keck, for *πόλιν*, i.e. *on the contrary* or *in their turn*. I believe this to be right: in the style of Aeschylus the object to *εἶχον* (*αὐτήν*) would naturally be supplied, and *πάλιν* is much to the point. However the change is not necessary.

1287: 'are brought by their choice of gods to their present pass', literally 'are coming off thus by choice of gods'. *ἐκ θεῶν* out of or among gods, depends upon *κρίσει* (choosing, from *κρίνω* choose); cf. *v.* 1365, *Theb.* 806 ὑπ' ἀλλήλων φόνῳ etc.—*ἐν θεῶν κρίσει* (g, h) is presumably only a conjecture to simplify the construction, but the meaning is not altered.—The argument of Cassandra's despair is this: from the triumph of Agamemnon and the Greeks it might have appeared, and it was argued, that the Trojans had chosen their patrons ill, and in particular that they erred in adopting the *κρίσις*, the judgment or rather choice, of Paris (for I think this well known phrase is in the poet's mind): but now it seems that Zeus Xenios, Hera, and the other vaunted patrons of the Greeks, have no mind to protect the victors. Evil destiny therefore is omnipotent, and nothing remains but to submit to it.—The reading *ἐν θεῶν κρίσει* may also be rendered 'under the decision of the gods', but this is less pointed and the reading critically preferable does not admit it.

1288. *ἰοῦσα πράξω* 'I will go to my own fate (*faring*)'. The use of *πράξω* is explained (as Paley says) by *πράσσαν* in *v.* 1286 to which it directly refers.—All the recent English editors (Paley, Kennedy, Sidgwick) retain this reading in spite of numerous objections, and it seems in this context clear and right, though it is a matter rather for feeling than argument.—*τλήσομαι τὸ κατθανεῖν* an explanation of *πράξω*, added in the abrupt manner of the speaker.

1289. *For have not the gods sworn a mighty oath? i.e.* what I am to suffer is *fated*, as was the destruction of Troy, as is the impending death of Agamemnon, as is the future vengeance of Orestes. The divine oath is in Homer always the assurance and symbol of certain destiny. Cassandra uses it so here with a general application.—That this verse is meaningless or out of place we can by no means admit. It sums up forcibly the fatalistic argument of the whole passage. Hermann (and many since) place it before *v.* 1283; but is not this more than bold? How did it come thence here? Argument for the change there is really none, except that *f* has *ἄξειν* in *v.* 1283, which suggests that something may be lost. But, with *ν* following, *ἄξει* might become *ἄξω* so easily, that no weight can be allowed to this.

1290. 'But in my salutation this gate shall be the gate of Death'. Note the emphasis on *ἐγὼ* and by displacement on "Αἰδου. She contrasts her conscious going-in to death with the confident salutation of Agamemnon, *θεοὺς ἐγχωρίους δίκη προσειπεῖν* (*v.* 801), and again *ἐς μέλαθρα ἐλθὼν θεοῖσι δεξιῶσμαι* (*v.* 843). The parallel is first introduced by

ἐπεύχομαι δὲ καίρας πληγῆς τυχεῖν,
ὡς ἀσφάδαστος, αἱμάτων εὐθνησίμων
ἀπορρνέντων, ὄμμα συμβάλω τόδε.

ΧΟ. ὦ πολλά μὲν τάλαινα, πολλά δὲ σχεθρά
γύναι, μακρὰν ἔτεινας· εἰ δ' ἐτητύμως
μόρον τὸν αὐτῆς οἶσθα, πῶς θεηλάτου
βοὸς δίκην πρὸς βωμὸν εὐτόλμως πατεῖς;

ΚΑ. οὐκ ἔστ' ἄλυξίς, οὔ, ξένοι, χρόνῳ πλέω.

ΧΟ. ὁ δ' ὕστατός γε τοῦ χρόνου πρεσβεύεται.

1295

1294. δὲ σοφή.

1298. πλέω.

κάτοικος in v. 1284 and guides the whole thought down to this.—τάσδ' ἐγώ Aura-tus; the common error between Δ and Α.

1294. Note the change of tone on the part of the Chorus. It is again incredulous and almost cavilling. Probably we have another speaker. τάλαινα... σχεθρά *very miserable, but very patient* (see the following lines). σχεθρός or σχεθρός is given by Hesychius, with the interpretation τλήμων *patient*, which this passage (see v. 1301) would naturally suggest. For the derivation from *σχεῖν* to bear, cf. *ἀνασχερός*.—I suggest this as a possible restoration of the defective πολλά δὲ σοφή preserved both by f and g: σοφή, an unsuitable word, I take to be an alternative explanation of σχεθρά, arising from the false identification of σχεθρός and σκεθρός (see L. and Sc. s.vv.).—δ' αὖ (h) is neither critical nor satisfactory.

1295. 'You have talked off your fate for some time, it is true, but if you really foresee it, why go to it at all?' This is the tone.

1296. θεηλάτου *god-impelled*, if a victim came to the place of sacrifice willingly and of its own accord it was supposed to indicate the divine choice of it.

1297. εὐτόλμως literally 'with easy courage', *carelessly* rather than *bravely*. See on Eur. *Med.* 496.

1298. χρόνῳ πλέω. *When the time is full, there is no escape*. The reading of the MS. (for the omission of the ι sub-

script is nothing) is, I believe, right. The dative is that dative of *circumstance*, analogous to the genitive absolute, which has been treated in Appendix Z. Here the case may be quasi-instrumental, *with fullness of time there is no escape*, or quasi-possessive, *a full time hath no escape*, the χρόνος being personified as in v. 885; see the note cited and particularly Theocr. 13. 29. But it is unnecessary and improper to decide the exact relation, as the case like the genitive signifies merely accompanying circumstance.—χρόνοι πλέω (Weil) *the times are full*, a separate clause. This is almost indistinguishable from the MS. and the abruptness not unjustifiable. The plural however is doubtful.

1299. Two constructions are possible: (1) τοῦ χρόνου πρεσβεύεται *he that is last* (to undergo the inevitable) *has the advantage in respect of time*; so Hermann, Paley and others: and (2) ὁ ὕστατος τοῦ χρόνου *the last of the time is best*, ὁ ὕστατος following the gender of χρόνος as in ἡ ἡμέρα τῆς ἡμέρας and other partitive expressions; so Elberling cited by Hermann. Neither can be demonstrated as against the other, but (2) is preferable, since (1) introduces a comparison of different persons, which is scarcely to the point. Either way there is antithesis between ὕστατος and πρεσβεύεται (properly *to be first*), and either way the meaning of the saying is that an inevitable evil may at least be

- ΚΑ. ἥκει τόδ' ἡμαρ· σμικρὰ κερδανῶ φυγῇ. 1300
 ΧΟ. ἀλλ' ἴσθι τλήμων οὐς' ἀπ' εὐτόλμου φρενός.
 ΚΑ. οὐδεὶς ἀκούει ταῦτα τῶν εὐδαιμόνων.
 ΧΟ. ἀλλ' εὐκλεῶς τοι κατθανεῖν χάρις βροτῶ.
 ΚΑ. ἰὼ πάτερ σοῦ τῶν τε γενναίων τέκνων.
 ΧΟ. τί δ' ἐστὶ χρῆμα, τίς σ' ἀποστρέφει φόβος; 1305
 ΚΑ. φεῦ φεῦ.
 ΧΟ. τί τοῦτ' ἔφευξας; εἴ τι μὴ φρενῶν στύγος.
 ΚΑ. φόβον δόμοι πνέουσιν αἵματοσταγῇ.
 ΧΟ. καὶ πῶς; τόδ' ὅξει θυμάτων ἐφεστίων.
 ΚΑ. ὅμοιος αἶμὸς ὥσπερ ἐκ τάφου πρέπει. 1310
 ΧΟ. οὐ Σύριον ἀγλαίσμα δώμασιν λέγεις.
 ΚΑ. ἀλλ' εἶμι κὰν δόμοισι κωκύσουσ' ἐμὴν
 Ἀγαμέμνονός τε μοῖραν. ἀρκείτω βίος.
 ἰὼ ξένοι.
 οὔτοι δυσοίζω θάμνον ὡς ὄρνις φόβῳ 1315
 ἄλλως· θανούσῃ μαρτυρεῖτέ μοι τόδε,
 ὅταν γυνὴ γυναικὸς ἀντ' ἐμοῦ θάνῃ,
 ἀνὴρ τε δυσδάμαρτος ἀντ' ἀνδρὸς πέσῃ.
 ἐπιξενούμαι, ταῦτα δ' ὡς θανουμένη.

1316. ἀλλ' ὡς.

put off to the last.—**τοῦ χρόνου** has the article as referring to 'the time' of the preceding verse.

1301—1303. They attempt to console her with praise, but she answers with sad resignation. Although impressed they are determined not to be convinced (see v. 1305) and their consolation is but half serious.—On the rearrangement of this passage by Heath and Hermann (thus, 1301, 1303, 1302) see Paley and Sidgwick, who, with Kennedy, follow Conington in retaining the ms. order. The proposal of Heath is not entertainable. To assign to Cassandra the sentiment **ἀλλ' εὐκλεῶς** κτλ. is forbidden by the whole spirit of the scene.

1304. With this cry of misery and repentance, suggested partly by **εὐκλεῶς κατθανεῖν**, she moves to enter, but starts back again in an agony of physical horror.—**τῶν, σῶν** (Auratus) is no improve-

ment. Degraded as she is she does not count herself among **τὰ γενναῖα τῶν τέκνων**. There is no **εὐκλεῶς κατθανεῖν** for her.

1308. *The house exhales a horror of dripping blood.* **φόβον** of that which terrifies, as in v. 1305 (which is here answered) and *Theb.* 487. With **πνέουσι φόβον** cf. **κλάζουσι φόβον** *Theb.* 373.—**φόβον** is suggested, avowedly as a conjecture, in the *Cod. Farn.* but is an inexcusable change which would have been rejected peremptorily if proposed since the invention of printing. If Aeschylus requires testimony, see Tennyson, *Maud* 1, 3 'The red-ribbed ledges drip with a silent horror of blood'.

1314. She turns back again.

1316. **ἄλλως· θανούσῃ** Hermann, an admirable correction.

1319: *i.e.* 'if I make a claim upon you as my new **ξένοι**, it is my first and my

ΧΟ. ὦ τλήμων, οἰκτεῖρω σε θεσφάτου μόρου.

1320

ΚΑ. ἄπαξ ἔτ' εἰπεῖν ῥῆσιν—ἧ θρήνον θέλω
ἐμὸν τὸν αὐτῆς; ἡλίω δ' ἐπεύχομαι,
πρὸς ὕστατον φῶς, τοῖς ἐμοῖς τιμαόροις
ἐχθροὺς φόνευσιν τοὺς ἐμὸν τίνειν ὁμοῦ
δούλης θανούσης εὐμαροῦς χειμώματος.
ἰὼ βρότεια πράγματ'· εὐτυχοῦντα μὲν
σκιά τις ἂν τρέψειεν· εἰ δὲ δυστυχῇ,
βολαῖς ὑγρώσσω σπόγγος ὥλεσεν γραφήν.
καὶ ταῦτ' ἐκείνων μᾶλλον οἰκτεῖρω πολλῷ.

1325

1324. ἐχθροῖς φονεῦσι τοῖς ἐμοῖς (originally *τους*).

1327. ἀντρέψειεν.

last', literally 'I claim *ξενία*, but *that* as one about to die': cf. the common καὶ ταῦτα 'and that' and see *v.* 556.—If this verse be taken as one clause, the sense is the same, but the position of δέ awkward and hardly justifiable.

1320: spoken by one too profoundly moved to pretend doubt any more. This is the only speaker who expresses full conviction and sympathy, and the one touch of relief to the horror of the scene. One ξένος responds to her last appeal, and with that she turns from them for ever.

1321. *I would speak one speech more, or is it mine own dirge?* She has spoken ὡς θανουμένη (*v.* 1319) yet she will speak once more, if it be but ὡς θανοῦσα. It is the last stage in the conflict between her terror and her despair.—With the proper tone, which I have tried to show by punctuation, I do not find the text open to any just objection. Hermann's ῥῆσιν, οὐ θρήνον is a 'quiet and dignified rejection of the chorus' pity' (Sidgwick). But there is nothing stoical in Cassandra, nothing but utter and horrible fear. Nor would ἐμὸν τὸν αὐτῆς be any longer appropriate.—Wecklein retains the text.

1322—1325. The general sense is 'I make to the sun my last prayer, that when vengeance comes *my* wrongs may not be forgotten'. In the words there is some slight error, and many corrections (see Wecklein) are more or less plausible. I think however (with Mr Housman) *γ*.

Ph. XVI. p. 286) that ἐχθροὺς...τοὺς ἐμούς (Pearson) and φόνευσιν (Bothe, cf. φονεύω, φόνευμα) are almost certain, and I would change nothing else. Translate 'I call upon the sun, unto the last I see, that those *my* avengers may take of these *my* enemies bloody vengeance also for the easy conquest of a poor slain slave'. Between τοῖς ἐμοῖς and ὁμοῦ (*at the same time* with the vengeance for Agamemnon) there is no doubt a logical inconsistency: logic would require τοῖς τοῦ βασιλέως τιμαόροις or the like. But what is lost in logic is gained in effect: she says once too often that which she wants to say, that the wrong is *hers* also, the avengers *hers* also.—Mr Housman would mend the logic by writing τοῖς νέοις.—ἡλίω,... πρὸς ὕστατον φῶς: these expressions are cumulative, one repeating the other: ἡλίω (Jacob) is a simplification, but not an improvement.—The easy confusion of φόνευσιν with φονεῦσιν accounts for everything, and *f*, it appears, actually had *τους* (not *τοῖς*) originally.

1326—1329. *Alas for the state of man! If prosperity may be changed, as it were, by a shade, misery is a picture which at the dash of the wet sponge is gone. And this I say is the more pitiable by far. In ἂν τρέψειεν* (Porson) τρέπω has the sense analogous to τροπή *change*.—ταῦτα the latter, the case of the miserable, ἐκείνων the former, that of the prosperous, as usual.—She is still protesting, as in the pre-

ΧΟ. τὸ μὲν εὖ πράσσειν ἀκόρεστον ἔφν
 πᾶσι βροτοῖσιν· δακτυλοδείκτων δ'
 οὔτις ἀπειπὼν εἵργει μελάρων,
 μηκέτ' ἐσέλθης, τάδε φωνῶν.
 καὶ τῷδε πόλιν μὲν ἐλεῖν ἔδοσαν
 μάκαρες Πριάμου,
 θεοτίμητος δ' οἴκαδ' ἰκάνει·
 νῦν δ' εἰ προτέρων αἰμ' ἀποτίσει
 καὶ τοῖσι θανούσι θανὼν ἄλλων
 ποιναὺς θανάτων ἐπικρανεῖ,

1330

1335

1333. μηκέτι δ' εἰσέλθης.

vious lines, against neglect of her part in the wrong about to be committed. The murder of the poor slave may count for little beside the murder of the great king; and vulgar opinion may esteem, as it is apt to do, the overthrow of prosperity a more tragic thing than the extinction of misery which is only just on this side of nothing. But *this*, not *that*, is truly the more pitiable case.—There is no need to force ταῦτ' ἐκείνων, either by referring ταῦτα to the case of the prosperous, ἐκείνων to the case of the miserable, or by referring ταῦτα to the general misery of mankind and ἐκείνων to the special case of Cassandra (v. 1320). These devices are adopted to avoid the futile truism that 'misery is more pitiable than prosperity', which however is not meant or said: that *the destruction of misery* is more pitiable than *the destruction of prosperity* is no truism or, if such, is a truism neglected and pathetic.—σκιᾶ τις ἂν πρέψειεν (*one may liken them to a sketch*) Conington: but even if the change were otherwise justifiable, the statement of a lexicographer (Photius), who does not give us his example, is insufficient evidence for so unlikely a use as πρέψαι = ὁμοῖωσαι. It is probably a mere blunder or misreading. πρέψας· εἰκασμένος, εἰκασθῆς (Hesychius) is no doubt correct, but does not lend countenance to the other.—δυστυχῇ Victorius, δυστυχοῖ Blomfield. Either is possible in poetry and

the MS. could not be relied upon to distinguish them. But δυστυχῇ, which the MS. gives, is also possible and expresses the point better; the conditional sentence is then elliptical, the verb (τρέψειεν or something of the same general sense) being supplied from τρέψειεν, a usage not at all uncommon. The change which to prosperity is an overshadowing is to misery utter annihilation. Whichever be read the meaning is practically the same.—Dr Wecklein takes this passage almost exactly as I have done.

1333. μηκέτ' ἐσέλθης Hermann. The ancient editors wrongly completed the verse to a full dimeter.

1338. τοῖσι θανουσι θανὼν adding *death to deaths*. With the dative cf. Soph. O. T. 175 ἄλλον δ' ἂν ἄλλω προσ-
 ἰδοις ὄρμενον *life on life mayst thou see speed*, where 'the dative seems to depend mainly on the notion of adding implied by the iteration itself' (Jebb). See also on Theb. 424 κέρδει κέρδος ἄλλο τίκεται, and on vv. 1171 and 1277 above. *Succession* is the primary notion here, but that of *interest* (dying for or in justice to the dead) is not necessarily excluded. It is the essence of poetic expression to be suggestive rather than precise.

ib. ἄλλων ... ἐπικρανεῖ *must crown the pile with yet other deaths in revenge*, literally 'is putting other revengeful deaths as a capital upon the column', referring to v. 1283, where the same meta-

τίς τίν' ἂν εὖξαιτο βροτῶν ἀσινεῖ
δαίμονι φῦναι τὰδ' ἀκούων; 1340

ΑΓ. ὦμοι, πέπληγμαι καιρίαν πληγὴν ἔσω.

ΧΟ. σίγα· τίς πληγὴν ἀντεῖ καιρίως οὐτασμένος;

ΑΓ. ὦμοι μάλ' αὖθις, δευτέραν πεπληγμένος.

ΧΟ. τοῦργον εἰργάσθαι δοκεῖ μοι βασιλέως οἰμώγμασιν. 1345
ἀλλὰ κοινωσώμεθ' ἂν πως ἀσφαλῇ βουλευματα.

Ι. ἐγὼ μὲν ὑμῖν τὴν ἐμὴν γνώμην λέγω,

1340. τίς ἂν.

phor is applied to the same facts.—**ἐπικρανεῖ** is generally rejected on the ground of metre, being taken for the future of **ἐπικράνω**, **ἐπικράνω**. But I submit that it is the present, not of **ἐπικράνω**, but of **ἐπικράνέω**, derived from **ἐπικράνον** the capital of a column (and from the stem **κραν-** head, whence **κρανίον** skull etc.), upon the analogy of **ἐπιτελέω** from **τέλος**. The word was probably not common, and perhaps never existed elsewhere, but it is such as the poet was at liberty to form for the purpose of this metaphor. The present tense is used, as often and particularly in relation to prophecy (Kühner, *Gr. Gramm.* § 382, 5 and 6), of that which is on the way to be done and is the inevitable sequence of the present.

1340. A syllable is wanting. I suggest **τίς τίν' ἂν εὖξαιτο...** (a double interrogative, *who could affirm that any mortal etc.*), as supplying the place with something easily dropped.—**τίς, τίς** (Muscgrave) is perhaps too passionate.

1342. **καιρίαν mortal**. On the history of this word, which, though formed from **καιρός**, seems to have been influenced in use by a resemblance to **κήριος** from **κήρ**, see Leaf on *II.* 4. 185.

1346. **κοινωσώμεθ' ἂν πως κτλ.** *i.e.* to render the full force, 'we will, *if we may*, give each other safe counsel'.—This example of **ἂν** with the imperative subjunctive is generally rejected. But if we may reason from other phenomena of the language, such a use ought to

be found occasionally in the Greek of the tragedians. It exists in Homer with **κεν**, as the expression of a conditional purpose (Monro, *Hom. Grammar*, § 275), and disappeared no doubt gradually, being retained meanwhile in poetry like other archaic syntax (*e.g.* **ὅπως ἂν** with the optative *v.* 376). According to the analogy of **ὥς, ὥς ἂν, ὅπως, ὅπως ἂν** with the subjunctive, as used by the Athenian poets, the effect to them of the addition of **ἂν** would be to give a *tentative* tone, suggesting subjection to the condition of possibility. This is the account usually given of the final clauses with **ἂν** and without, and it appears to be correct, so far as any difference is strictly observed. It is not difficult to explain why in the imperative the like variation should be extremely rare. Between the *tentative* and the *imperative* there is a natural inconsistency, and such a variation is not commonly wanted. But this is the rare place where it is wanted. Like the addition of **πως** it emphasizes the uncertainty of a paralysed will.—The proposed corrections, **ἐμπας, ἦν πως, ἂν πως** etc., are all very unsatisfactory.

1347. On the distribution of these speeches see Wecklein. The text points, as observed by Bamberger and O. Müller, to a chorus of 12 elders, and this is probably the intention, although a tradition (schol. to Aristoph. *Knights* 589) gives to this play a chorus of 15. Considering the way in which the plot and arrange-

- πρὸς δῶμα δεῦρ' ἀστοῖσι κηρύσσειν βοήν.
 2. ἔμοι δ' ὅπως τάχιστα γ' ἐμπεσεῖν δοκεῖ
 καὶ πρᾶγμ' ἐλέγχειν σὺν νεορρῦτφ ξίφει. 1350
 3. κἀγὼ τοιούτου γνώματος κοινωνὸς ὦν
 ψηφίζομαί τι δρᾶν· τὸ μὴ μέλλειν δ' ἀκμή.
 4. ὄρᾶν πάρεστι· φροιμιάζονται γὰρ ὡς
 τυραννίδος σημεῖα πράσσοντες πόλει.
 5. χρονίζομεν γάρ· οἱ δὲ μελλούσης κλέος 1355
 πέδοι πατοῦντες οὐ καθεύδουσιν χερί.
 6. οὐκ οἶδα βουλῆς ἥστινος τυχὼν λέγω.
 τοῦ δρῶντός ἐστι καὶ τὸ βουλευῆσαι πέρι.
 7. κἀγὼ τοιούτός εἰμ', ἐπεὶ δυσμηχανῶ
 λόγοισι τὸν θανόντ' ἀνιστάναι πάλιν. 1360
 8. ἧ καὶ βίον κτείνοντες ὧδ' ὑπείξομεν

1355. τῆς μελλούσης.

ment of the play as a whole are treated by the ancient commentators, little or no weight is due to their dicta on such things.—On the scene in general at this point see the Introduction.

1348. **βοήν** *i.e.* βοήθειαν: *to cry a rescue.*

1355. **μελλούσης**: supply from the previous line αὐτῆς, *i.e.* τῆς πόλεως, the city or citizens. 'From the way they begin', says the last speaker, 'it would seem they mean to enslave the city'. 'Because we delay', answers this one impatiently. 'They while she hesitates trample her honour down and work unresting!' The πόλις, as he conceives, is represented by themselves.—Various ancient writers (among them Trypho, of the time of Augustus, περὶ τρόπων III. p. 196), cite, as an Aeschylean example of μελλῶ *delay*, but without specifying the play, χρονίζομεν ὧδε τῆς μελλοῦς χάριν. If this refers to our passage, it is so inaccurately given as to deserve little attention; it shows at most that some one not at all careful or critical read here τῆς μελλοῦς. If we adopt it (as Hermann and others) μελλῶ will be a personification for οἱ μέλλοντες, *while they, trampling on the*

honour of Delay, i.e. 'of those who delay', etc., the same in meaning, but less natural in expression. It may be suspected however that τῆς μελλοῦς is no more than an ancient conjecture upon a text exhibiting, as ours do, τῆς μελλούσης, where τῆς is a note merely, indicating, as the fact is, that a prose-writer would have used the article.—The *Cod. Farn.* actually reads οἱ δέ, μελλούσης, explaining μελλούσης wrongly by τῆς τυραννίδος δηλονότι, and it is possible that M really had this, not τῆς μελλούσης, though the *Cod. Farn.* is no trustworthy evidence of it.—To render τῆς μελλοῦς...πατοῦντες, by *scorning the credit of delay* cannot be right: such 'credit' is not κλέος and πατοῦντες πέδοι is much more than *scorning*.—πέδοι Hermann.

1358. *To the doer (of a thing) it belongs to make plans about it, i.e.* it is of no use making suggestions where no execution is to follow. This speaker is utterly helpless, the next almost idiotic with terror.

1361. **βίον κτείνοντες** *slaying our life, i.e.* accepting a condition no better than death. Compare the common phrase οὐ βιώσιμον for an intolerable state. This

- δόμων καταισχυνηῖρσι τοῖσδ' ἡγουμένοις;
 9. ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀνεκτόν, ἀλλὰ κατθανεῖν κρατεῖ.
 πεπαιτέρα γὰρ μοῖρα τῆς τυραννίδος.
 10. ἦ γὰρ τεκμηρίοισιν ἐξ οἰωγμάτων 1365
 μαντευσόμεσθα τάνδρὸς ὡς ὀλωλότος;
 11. σάφ' εἰδότας χρή τῶνδε μυθοῦσθαι πέρι.
 τὸ γὰρ τοπάζειν τοῦ σάφ' εἰδέναί διχα.
 12. ταύτην ἐπαινεῖν πάντοθεν πληθύνομαι,
 τρανῶς Ἀτρεΐδην εἰδέναί κυροῦνθ' ὅπως. 1370

ΚΛ. πολλῶν πάροιθεν καιρίως εἰρημένων
 τάναντί' εἰπεῖν οὐκ ἐπαισχυνησόμαι.
 πῶς γάρ τις ἐχθροῖς ἐχθρὰ πορσύνων, φίλοις
 δοκοῦσιν εἶναι πημονὴν ἀρκύστατον
 φράξειεν ὕψος κρεῖσσον ἐκπηδήματος. 1375

explanation is offered by the *Cod. Farn.*, nor does it seem to me impossible.—In any case *βλον τείνοντες* (Canter) is no solution: any editor finding this would have left it. It is possible that *κτείνοντες* covers some rare or unknown word, e.g. *κτιλοῦντες making our lives tame*.

1365. *τεκμηρίοισιν ἐξ οἰωγμάτων*. See *vv.* 804, 1288, 1412, 1630, *Theb.* 1015 *ἐκφορὰ φίλων ὑπο*, etc.

1367. *θυμοῦσθαι* (E. Ahrens, Hermann) *We had best know the facts before we indulge anger*. I give precedence to this conjecture in deference to general opinion but without assent.—*μυθοῦσθαι*: literally 'to be-talk one another' (the *mutual* use of the passive voice) formed from *μῦθος* in its depreciatory sense (*talk, mere words*), *We had best know the facts before we hear each other talk*. Surely this is a more pointed expression than the other. The verb *μυθῶ* is not extant elsewhere, but why should this be expected? The analogy of *πισσῶ*, *χρυσῶ* 'to be-pitch, be-gold' etc., is quite as close as is required, when a word is invented to make a point. In such a case the strangeness of the formation is its merit. Our own poets, especially those older poets who answer to Aeschylus,

abound in similar devices. Certainly *μυθοῦσθαι* could not be used for *μυθεῖσθαι*: but neither is it.

1369. *ταύτην* (*τὴν γνώμην*) see *v.* 1347.—*πάντοθεν πληθύνομαι* lit. *I am multiplied from all sides, i.e. From all sides I find support* to approve this vote. Somewhat similar is the use in *Supp.* 612 *δήμου κρατοῦσα χεῖρ ὅπη πληθύνεται* (Siddgwick). The previous speaker is received with general signs of approval.

1371. See the Introduction.

1373—1375. *How should one [be ashamed of serviceable falsehood], who plots as a foe against a foe? With the semblance of friendship let him make his dangerous snare too high to be overleaped. i.e. 'All is fair in war'.* The language is probably proverbial or modelled upon a proverb.—*πῶς γάρ τις ἐπαισχυνησεται κτλ.*, supplied from the previous sentence. For examples see L. and Sc. *s.v.* *πῶς*, III.—*ἐχθρὰ πορσύνων* literally 'contriving hostility'.—*φίλοις* instrumental neuter, antithetic to *ἐχθρὰ* not to *ἐχθροῖς*. As this sentence only repeats the sense of the preceding question it properly has no copula. Note the emphasis given to *φίλοις* by the rhythm.—*πημονὴν ἀρκύσ-*

ἐμοὶ δ' ἀγὼν ὅδ' οὐκ ἀφρόντιστος πάλαι
νίκης παλαιᾶς ἦλθε, σὺν χρόνῳ γε μὴν·
ἔστηκε δ' ἔνθ' ἔπαισ' ἐπ' ἐξεργασμένοις.
οὕτω δ' ἔπραξα (καὶ τὰδ' οὐκ ἀρνήσομαι)
ὥς μήτε φεύγειν μήτ' ἀμύνασθαι μόνον,

1380

τατον, literally 'mischief set as a snare'.
—φράζειν: the optative *imperative*, as
in v. 936. This archaic construction has
been already noticed in another proverb-
ial passage (v. 557) where, as here, it is
joined with the proverbial *τις*.—ὕψος
accusative, defining the extent of the
action φράσσειν.—These three verses are
commonly punctuated as one sentence
and, being thus unconstruable, are cor-
rected to get a construction. With
πημονῆς (Auratus) and ἀρκύστατ' ἄν
(Elmsley) they are rendered, 'for how
else (than by deceit) could one, devising
ill for foes who seem friends, fence the
snares of woe too high to leap over?'
But this is not to the point. The 'sem-
blance' or 'pretence' of friendship on the
part of the attacked has nothing to do
with the matter. What is to be excused
is the pretence of friendship on the part
of the assailant. This must apply to
any explanation which makes φίλοις mas-
culine, and is sufficient to show that it is
neuter.

1376. *For me, I have had long enough
to prepare this wrestle for victory, though
it has come at last.*—ἀγὼν...νίκης *struggle
for victory*: ἀγὼν in its proper agonistic
sense, a contest in the games.—πάλαι...
παλαιᾶς: a sort of assonance or play, in
the use of which Aeschylus resembles
Shakespeare, on the two possible senses
of παλαιος, *ancient*, from πάλαι, and *in
wrestling* from πάλη. See Cho. 865
τοῦνδε πάλην μόνος ὦν ἔφεδρος δισσοῖς
μέλλει...Ὀρέστης ἄψιν· εἴη δ' ἐπὶ νίκη,
where ἔφεδρος, meaning 'a third cham-
pion who waits to contend with the
victor in a preliminary contest', 'implies
that the victory of Aegisthus and Cly-
taemnestra was itself a νίκη παλάα, and

is in fact an allusion to this passage.
Whether we write παλαιᾶς or παλάας (as
the adjective from πάλη would probably
be accented) is in such a case indifferent.
The metaphor of the πάλη leads up natu-
rally to the picture in v. 1378. On the
Aeschylean use of equivocation in general
see Appendix II. to the *Seven Against
Thebes* and the Index there, under *Ver-
bal Equivocation*.—Of νίκης παλαιᾶς,
referred to πάλαι only, no passable
explanation has been offered, and most
texts give after Heath νείκης, a supposed
equivalent of νείκους, *i.e. this fighting out
of an old quarrel*, which however leaves
us still to seek a satisfactory reason for
the repetition πάλαι...παλαιᾶς. The form
νείκη depends on the testimony of Eur.
Or. 1679 νείκας τε διαλύσθε (with va-
riant νείκος): but as the use of διαλύομαι
points to a genitive case, it is doubtful
whether νείκας can be correct. The state-
ments of the ancient lexicographers (νείκη·
φιλονεικία Suidas) are of little weight with-
out examples. Very likely they proceed
from mere misspellings of νίκη. On the
other side the absence of any derived
form, such as νεικάω, νεικάω etc., is not
without weight, considering the frequency
of νείκος, νεικέω. On the whole Blomfield
was justified in holding the form uncerti-
fied, and at any rate there is no evidence
for it here.

1378. Note the harsh and striking
rhythm of this verse, which, as ἐπ' ἐξ-
εργασμένοις belongs to ἔστηκε, has in
effect no caesura.

1379. καὶ τὰδ' *this also*, see vv. 1371—
1372.

1380. *And I made the death such...as
to forbid escape or resistance, an envelope
impassable, like the fisherman's net a-*

ἄπειρον ἀμφίβληστρον, ὥσπερ ἰχθύων
 περιστιχίζων, πλοῦτον εἵματος κακόν.
 παῖω δέ νιν δίς· κὰν δυοῖν οἰμώγμασιν
 μεθήκεν αὐτοῦ κῶλα· καὶ πεπτωκότη
 τρίτην ἐπενδίδωμι, τοῦ κατὰ χθονός, 1385
 "Αἰδου νεκρῶν σωτήρος, εὐκταίαν χάριν.
 οὔτω τὸν αὐτοῦ θυμὸν ὀρμαίνει πεσών·
 κάκφυσιῶν ὀξεῖαν αἵματος σφαγὴν
 βάλλει μ' ἐρεμνῇ ψακάδι φοινίας δρόσου,
 χαίρουσαν οὐδὲν ἦσσον ἢ διοςδότῳ 1390
 γάνει σπορητὸς κάλυκος ἐν λοχεύμασιν.
 ὡς ὧδ' ἐχόντων, πρέσβος Ἀργείων τόδε,
 χαίροιτ' ἄν, εἰ χαίροιτ', ἐγὼ δ' ἐπεύχομαι.
 εἰ δ' ἦν πρεπόντων ὥστ' ἐπισπένδειν νεκρῷ,
 τὰδ' ἂν δικαίως ἦν, ὑπερδίκως μὲν οὖν. 1395

1382. περιστοιχίζων.

1390. διὸς νότῳ γὰν εἰ.

round a shoal. **μόρον** death here signifies the means or instrument of death, as in *Cho.* 1072 σωτήρ, ἡ μόρον εἶπω; *Theb.* 736 ἐγείνατο μόρον αὐτῷ, *inf.* 1495 δολίῳ μόρῳ δαμείς etc. See also the uses of ἄτη.—**ἄπειρον ἀμφίβληστρον** in apposition to μόρον.—**ὥσπερ...περιστιχίζων** (g), literally, 'as one that puts (his net) about fish': the object of περιστιχίζων is supplied from ἀμφίβληστρον.—The corrections suggested here (περιστιχίζω, περестιχίζω) are misconceived. It is much more natural and proper that the word περιστιχίζειν should be referred to the fisherman of the simile and not directly to Clytaemnestra.

1384. αὐτοῦ 'then and there' *illico* (Hermann).—αὐτοῦ Voss.

1385. The third blow is compared to the third libation usually poured to Σωτήρ or Ζεὺς Σωτήρ (see *v.* 257) with a certain ambiguity in the word σωτήρ. Hades, the god of the lower world, is 'the σωτήρ of the dead', in the sense that he 'keeps them safely'; for which sense of σφύζω see *L.* and *Sc.*—Note that τοῦ κατὰ χθονός, 'the subterranean power', is a separate substantive, to which "Αἰδου νεκρῶν

σωτήρος is added as an explanation.

1387. ὀρμαίνει *sped*, with the secondary suggestion of *panted forth* (see on *Theb.* 381).—ὀργάνει (Hermann from Hesych. ὀργάνει· ἐρεύγεται) *belched*, may perhaps have been an ancient variant or conjecture here. But the form is not beyond suspicion and there is no evidence against the text.

1390. διοςδότῳ γάνει Porson, a brilliant correction.

1392. Note the mocking effect of the address, compared with *v.* 846: so in the following χαίροιτ' ἄν, εἰ χαίροιτε the echo of their implied rebuke (see *vv.* 1031—33) is probably not accidental.

1394—1395. *Could there be a fit case for a libation over the dead, justly and more than justly this would be that case.—εἰ ἦν...ὥστε if it had been possible*, cf. *Eur. Hipp.* 705 ἀλλ' ἐστὶ κακ τῶνδ' ὥστε σωθῆναι, τέκνον, *Soph. Phil.* 656 ἄρ' ἐστὶν ὥστε κάγγυθεν θεῶν λαβεῖν etc. (Paley).—**πρεπόντων** (τῶν πραγμάτων), *under fit circumstances, with good cause*, is an adverb to ἐπισπένδειν, but placed before ὥστε as taking the emphasis. It is a genitive absolute like ὧδ' ἐχόντων in *v.*

τοσῶνδε κρατῆρ' ἐν δόμοις κακῶν ὅδε
πλήσας ἀραίων αὐτὸς ἐκπίνει μολῶν.

ΧΟ. θαυμάζομέν σου γλώσσαν, ὡς θρασύστομος,
ἥτις τοιόνδ' ἐπ' ἀνδρὶ κομπάζεις λόγον.

ΚΛ. πειρᾶσθέ μου γυναικὸς ὡς ἀφράσμονος.

1400

ἐγὼ δ' ἀτρέστω καρδίᾳ πρὸς εἰδότας
λέγω· σὺ δ' αἰνεῖν εἴτε με ψέγειν θέλεις
ὅμοιον· οὗτός ἐστιν Ἀγαμέμνων, ἐμὸς
πόσις, νεκρὸς δὲ τῆσδε δεξιᾶς χερὸς
ἔργον, δικαίας τέκτονος. τάδ' ᾧδ' ἔχει.

1405

ΧΟ. τί κακόν, ὦ γύναι,

στρ.

χθονοτρεφὲς ἐδανὸν ἢ ποτὸν

πασαμένα ρυτᾶς ἐξ ἄλδς ὄρμενον

τόδ' ἐπέθου θύος δημοθρόους τ' ἀράς;

1408. ρύσας. ὀρώμενον.

1392, and the subject of it is the same, *circumstances, τὰ πράγματα*. In fact it is this ᾧδ' ἐχόντων which guides the construction of the whole sentence.—τάδ' ἂν ἦν πρέποντα πράγματα.—The grammar is clear and correct if we observe the true construction of *πρεπόντων*. There is no need to write *πρεπόντως* (Stanley), which is only a less appropriate synonym for *πρεπόντων*, still less to change *τάδ' το τῶδ'* (Tyrwhitt), which throws the whole sentence out of gear. But Stanley, Blomfield, Wellauer, Hermann, and others were right in rejecting the translation of *εἰ δ' ἦν πρεπόντων* by *if it had been a fitting thing*, which would require *εἰ δ' ἦν τῶν πρεπόντων ἐπισπένδειν* or *τὸ ἐπισπένδειν*.—ἐπισπένδειν νεκρῶ: if ever, that is, a death might justly be the subject of religious exultation.

1396. κρατῆρα...κακῶν ἀραίων. The *bovi* 'full of the imprecations of suffering homes', which Agamemnon had filled for himself and now had returned to drink, is the *conjuratio* against him, provoked by the sacrifice of Argive lives. See *vv.* 464, 1234, which interpret both the imagery and the meaning of this passage. This appeal to the real or supposed wrongs of the people is for the queen's

applauding partizans. See next note.—ἐν δόμοις κακῶν together, as the arrangement of the sentence shows.

1401. εἰδότας...σὺ δέ: clearly contrasted, not the same. σὺ is the last speaker representing the elders. The *εἰδότες* to whom she appeals are her own fellow-conspirators. On the other hand some of the crowd receive her with execrations (*v.* 1409).

1408. ρυτᾶς ἐξ ἄλδς: the sea serves as the type of water and *liquid* generally as opposed to *solid* (Paley). So *δμβρος* in *Soph. O. T.* 1428, where see Jebb's note. The *ms.* ρύσας (*i.e.* *rysas wrinkled*) is a curious, though quite mistaken, conjecture).

1409. τόδ' ἐπέθου θύος: 'What evil drug or draught led thee to bring upon thyself the fury and loud curses of yon folk?' θύος *fury*, cf. *θύειν* to rage. I had written a note arguing for this interpretation, which is not commonly noticed; but I find that Dr Wecklein assumes it, not without reason, as obvious. The other θύος (*sacrifice, incense*, parallel to the other θύω) is not admitted by the context. The form of expression clearly implies visible and audible expressions of rage. Naturally the crowd now includes many

ἀπέδικες, ἀπέταμες· ἀπόπολις δ' ἔσει·
μῖσος ὄμβριμον ἀστοῖς.

1410

ΚΛ. νῦν μὲν δικάξεις ἐκ πόλεως φυγὴν ἐμοὶ
καὶ μῖσος ἀστῶν δημόθρους τ' ἔχειν ἀράς,
οὐ σὺν τόδ' ἀνδρὶ τῷδ' ἐναντίον φέρων·
ὃς οὐ προτιμῶν, ὥσπερ εἰ βοτοῦ μόνον,
μήλων φλεόντων εὐπόκοις νομεύμασιν,
ἔθυσεν αὐτοῦ παῖδα, φιλτάτην ἐμοὶ
ὠδὴν, ἐπφδὸν Ὀρηκίων ἀημάτων.
οὐ τοῦτον ἐκ γῆς τῇσδε χρή σ' ἀνδρηλατεῖν,
μιασματῶν ἅποιν'; ἐπήκοος δ' ἐμῶν

1415

1420

1410. ἀπολις.

1414. οὐ σὺν corr. to οὐδὲν.

1418. τε λημμάτων.

who did not share and have no sympathy with the conspiracy. But as an unprepared minority they are helpless.

1410. These broken exclamations seem sufficiently intelligible though not exactly constructed. 'As thou hast broken all bands, so shall all bands be broken with thee'.—ἀπόπολις Seidler. On the metre, see Appendix II. ὄμβριμον i.e. ὄβριμον, but the exceptional form (with a *phonetic* μ) is perhaps correct.—μῖσος in the personal sense, 'object of hate'. The dative ἀστοῖς depends both on μῖσος and on ὄμβριμον *a load on the people's hate*, i.e. a thing against which their hatred will rise and throw it off.

1412. νῦν μὲν *yes, now*. The guilt of taking life, she says, is a discovery which they seem to have made in her particular case.

1413. ἔχειν *to bear*, explanatory infinitive.

1414. σὺν adverbial; *and joinest not in laying that reproach against my husband here*. For φέρω *to allege* see Demosth. 1328, 22 πάσας αἰτίας οἶσεν cited by L. and Sc. s.v. φέρω. τόδε: the reproach of murder upon which the queen and her party ground their cause.—It is clear that M had the text, as copied first in f; had οὐδὲν been original it would not have been changed to οὐ σὺν, whereas the con-

trary change, as a careless conjecture, is obvious, and was probably already appended in M by one of the annotators. From οὐδὲν τόδ' comes οὐδὲν τότ' (Voss) the reading of modern texts, suggested by νῦν μὲν in v. 1412. This antithesis is implied, but it need not be explicitly completed. See further on v. 1419.

1416: *although his fleecy herds had sheep enough*: the dative νομεύμασιν is quasi-possessive, the herd being personified after Aeschylus' manner.

1418. ἀημάτων Canter (A for Λ): *to charm the winds of Thrace* (v. 202).

1419. 'Shouldst not thou banish him?' This grim comparison between the guilt of herself and the guilt of the corpse is not merely or altogether ironical. According to the traditional doctrine of Greek law and religion, a corpse (as in the case of Polynices; see the *Seven Against Thebes*) could be both condemned and punished.—χρήν (Porson) is a change suggested only by the unauthorized reading of v. 1414. But Clytaemnestra is not gravely arguing that at the time of the sacrifice at Aulis Agamemnon ought to have been banished from Argos. Her argument relates to the present, and is properly expressed by *χρή*.—βιασμάτων g.

ἔργων δικαστῆς τραχὺς εἶ. λέγω δέ σοι
τοιαῦτ' ἀπειλεῖν ὡς παρεσκευασμένης,
ἐκ τῶν ὁμοίων χειρὶ νικήσαντ' ἐμοῦ
ἄρχειν, εἰάν δὲ τοῦμπαλιν κραίνῃ θεός,
γνώσει διδαχθεὶς ὁψὲ γοῦν τὸ σωφρονεῖν.

1425

ΧΟ. μεγαλόμητις εἶ,

ἀντ.

περίφρονα δ' ἔλακες, ὥσπερ οὖν
φονολιβεῖ τύχα φρὴν ἐπιμαίνεται.
λίπος ἐπ' ὁμμάτων αἵματος εὖ πρέπει.
ἀντίετον ἔτι σὲ χρὴ στερομέναν φίλων
τύμμα τύμματι τίσαι.

1430

ΚΛ. καὶ τήνδ' ἀκούεις ὀρκίων ἐμῶν θέμιν.

μὰ τὴν τέλειον τῆς ἐμῆς παιδὸς Δίκην,
Ἄτην Ἑρινύν θ', αἰσι τόνδ' ἔσφαξ' ἐγώ,
οὗ μοι φόβου μέλαθρον ἐλπίς ἐμπατεῖ,

1435

1431. τύμμα τίσαι.

1421—25: *i.e.* 'threaten if you please, but remember that I am prepared to fight the contest fairly and abide by the event'. ἐκ τῶν ὁμοίων... σωφρονεῖν expresses the conditions for which she is prepared, literally 'that he who conquers' etc. The second alternative, which for symmetry should have run in the infinitive, is turned (see on *v.* 1455) into an independent clause.—ἐκ τῶν ὁμοίων (with νικήσαντα) on fair terms is contemptuously ironical. By the success of the plot the queen has her opponents at her mercy.—νικήσαντα strictly general, for the prose τὸν νικήσαντα, *that he who conquers me*.—εἰάν...κραίνῃ *if, as it may prove, fate is accomplishing (i.e. intends) the contrary*. The tense, which points to the existing facts as determining the result, has more point than κράνῃ (*shall accomplish, Herwerden*). -

1427. ὥσπερ... ἐπιμαίνεται literally 'as indeed with the blood-shedding stroke thy mind is frenzied', *i.e.* 'this outrageous defiance already displays the maddening fury, which sooner or later will bring thee to punishment'.

1429. *The blood-fleck on thine eye doth*

well beseem thee or 'is right natural', referring not to a stain of blood from the murdered man (which is not consistent with ἐπ' ὁμμάτων) but rather to the blood-shot eye, which they see, or suppose themselves to see, in the furious face of the murderess. It is the bloody mind, they say, which shows there.

1430. ἀντίετον, if right, is a parallel form to ἀντιον (cf. ἀπεύχεται, ἀπευκτός) meaning *retributive, paid back*, from ἀνα-τίειν *to pay back*, and is in construction a predicate to τύμμα.—ἀτίετον *h* (a conjecture for metre) is a similar equivalent for ἀντιον, *unavenged*, a predicate to σέ.—The first gives the better sense and is metrically possible. See Appendix II.

1431. τύμματι I. Voss.

1432. ὀρκίων.. θέμιν 'solemnity of an oath', *i.e.* solemn oath.

1434. Ἄτην Ἑρινύν θ' in apposition to Δίκην.

1435. "My hope walks not in the house of fear. A fine picturesque phrase, surely not too imaginative or metaphorical for Aeschylus: she means 'My hope does not approach fear; my confidence is

ἕως ἂν αἶθῃ πῦρ ἐφ' ἐστίας ἐμὰς
 Αἴγισθος, ὥς τὸ πρόσθεν εὖ φρονῶν ἐμοί.
 οὗτος γὰρ ἡμῖν ἀσπίς οὐ σμικρὰ θράσους
 κεῖται γυναικὸς τῆσδε λυμαντήριος,
 Χρυσηίδων μείλιγμα τῶν ὑπ' Ἰλίου,
 ἥ τ' αἰχμάλωτος ἦδε καὶ τερασκόπος
 καὶ κοινόλεκτρος τοῦδε θεσφατηλόγος,
 πιστὴ ξύνευνος ναυτίλων δὲ σελμάτων,
 ἱστοτριβής. ἄτιμα δ' οὐκ ἐπραξάτην·

1440

dashed with no misgivings.'" Sidgwick.—ἐμπατεῖν Victorious.

1436. αἶθῃ πῦρ...ἐμὰς *kindles fire for the lighting of mine altars, i.e. shares my home and power.* The form of expression is adapted (note ὥς τὸ πρόσθεν in the next line) to Aegisthus' last exploit, the beacon-fire and the consequent 'sending round' of sacrifice (περίπεμψις *vv.* 87—96) to the houses and altars (plural, *vv.* 96, 600) of Argos, in fact to the whole successful conduct of the conspiracy. See the Introduction. For the plural ἐστίας, necessary to the meaning, see *Eur. Her.* 145 πολλῶν ἐστῖαι. In thus speaking of Argos as hers Clytaemnestra significantly assumes on behalf of herself and Aegisthus the place of the dead king.—For the use of ἐπι see *L.* and *Sc.* *s. v.* C. III. 1.—The customary change of ἐμὰς to ἐμῆς is critically most improbable (the plural being rare and the singular very common) and contrary to the meaning.

1438. *For there, as our broad shield of confidence, lies my husband, outraging his wife,...and with him his mistress; literally 'he there (a broad shield of confidence to us) lies as the outrager of his wife here...and she also' etc.* The words ἀσπίς...θράσους are in apposition not to οὗτος but to the whole statement οὗτος κεῖται...λυμαντήριος ἥ τε κτλ. Aegisthus and Clytaemnestra can face the world, when they can point to the husband laid beside the mistress whom he proposed to place in his house (see *Eur. El.* 1032).—

The absence of the article with the adjective λυμαντήριος, noted by Hermann as a difficulty, is explained and justified if *vv.* 1439—1440 are correctly punctuated as one sentence.

1439. τῇσδε: she points to herself.

1440. See *Hom. Il.* I. 378.—The way in which this furious exclamation is interpolated between οὗτος and ἥ τε resembles *Theb.* 560—562, where see note.

1443. πιστὴ...σελμάτων *who shared with him faithfully even the ship's bench, literally 'faithful bed-partner, though of ship's bench': the genitive σελμάτων depends upon ξύνευνος as a word 'of sharing'. δέ, which cannot be used as one conjunction in a series, implies an antithesis, a preceding πιστὴ μέν.* This will apply whether we punctuate at σελμάτων (as I think probable) or join the next word.

1444. ἱστοτριβής. It is best to leave this, even if we cannot explain it. We have not that knowledge of sailors' language in Aeschylus' time, which would enable us to say what terms a woman like Clytaemnestra might borrow from it to apply to a woman like Cassandra, or what those terms might mean. At any rate nothing is mended by writing ἱστοτριβής (*Pauw*): ναυτίλων σελμάτων ἱστοτριβής is variously translated, 'nautis aequae cum transtris trita' or 'sharing alike with him the mariner's bench'. But no analogy is offered either for the supposed sense of ἱστοτριβής or for the supposed construction. I doubt whether σελμάτων

ὁ μὲν γὰρ οὕτως, ἡ δέ τοι κύκνου δίκην
τὸν ὕστατον μέλψασα θανάσιμον γόον
κεῖται φιλήτως τοῦδ', ἐμοὶ δ' ἐπήγαγεν
εὐνῆς παροψώνημα τῆς ἐμῆς χλιδῆς.

1445

ΧΟ. φεῦ, τίς ἂν ἐν τάχει, μὴ περιώδυνος,
μηδὲ δεμνιοστήρης,
μόλοι τὸν αἰεὶ φέρουσ' ἐν ἡμῖν

στρ. α'.

1450

ισοτριβής is possible Greek for anything. It may be added that the practice of Aeschylus is strongly against running on the sentence from line to line and then stopping it at the second foot. Even when the sense is not run on, this very rare pause produces a quite sufficient rhythmic dislocation; which however is here justified, the torrent of invective being broken by a new thought.

1445—1447. δ μὲν γὰρ οὕτως, ἡ δέ...
κεῖται φιλήτως τοῦδε *for he lies as ye see, and she also like his beloved*, literally 'she lies loveably to him (as he to her)'. The construction of τοῦδε is modelled on the genitive of *relation in place*, as in Thuc. i. 36. 2 τῆς Ἰταλίας καὶ Σικελίας καλῶς παράπλου κεῖται (ἡ Κέρκυρα), Herod. 2. 112 τοῦ Ἑφαιστηίου πρὸς νότον ἄνεμον κείμενον: cf. the genitive with ἄγχι, ἐντός, ὀπισθεν etc., and see Kühner *Gr. Grammar* § 418. 8 a. Note the parallel between οὕτως...φιλήτως.—Here again f has faithfully preserved the reading of M: g (and h of course) gives the simpler but much less pointed φιλήτωρ (*lover*) from φιλέω, which might be feminine, like σωτήρ. The scholia contain a gloss ἡ ἐκ ψυχῆς φιλουμένη, written on φιλήτωρ, which the author derived from φίλος and ἡτορ *heart*. If this note is derived from M, as it may be, it would show that this reading also appeared in that ms. Possibly M had ^ρφιλήτως, and the note is from a hand (m¹²) which added or accepted the ρ. Thus in *Theb.* 490 δυσχίμων, the ε and a gloss δυσχείμερον are added by m¹, and so frequently elsewhere. But the passive

φιλήτως is better, besides having more technical probability. If any change be required, τῶδε (with φιλήτως, cf. v. 1581) would be better than φιλήτωρ: but the text is sound.—Hermann is surely mistaken in arguing, against Blomfield, that φιλήτωρ really is derived from ἡτορ and really does mean *heart-beloved*.

1447. *She adds to the luxury of my triumph a spice of sex.* Translation here is very difficult, but the meaning and construction are, I think, clear. To the joy of revenge for her daughter, and other satisfactions of the moment, the coming and death of Cassandra have added the sweetness of revenge for her injuries as a woman and a wife. εὐνῆς stands to παροψώνημα in the relation of a qualifying adjective, 'concerned with εὐνή' i.e. with the relations of sex, while χλιδῆς is the ordinary objective genitive depending on παροψώνημα in its verbal aspect, 'a seasoning added to'. For the combination of genitives cf. Soph. *Ai.* 308 ἐν ἐρείπιοις-νεκρῶν ἀρνέλου φόνου, literally 'in the corpse-wreckage of slain sheep', id. *Trach.* 1191 τὸν Οἰτῆς Ζηνὸς πάγον, Eur. *Phoen.* 308 βοστρύχων...χαίτας-πλόκαμον 'hair-plait of locks', and see Kühner, *Gr. Grammar* § 414, 4, note 3.

1451. ἐν ἡμῖν: dubious, but defended by Conington and others and perhaps justifiable in the sense 'bringing into us'; cf. Eur. *Med.* 424 ἐν ἀμετέρᾳ γνώμᾳ ὤπασε θέσπιν ἀοιδάν *put into our minds the gift of inspired song*.—φέρουσ' ἂν ἡμῖν (Emperius) 'to bring us *perchance* eternal sleep' is a poetical and attractive correction.

Μοῖρ' ἀτέλευτον ὕπνον, δαμέντος
 φύλακος εὐμενεστάτου καὶ
 πολλὰ τλάντος γυναικὸς διαί,
 πρὸς γυναικὸς δ' ἀπέφθισεν βίον.

1455

ἰὼ παρανόμους† Ἑλένα,
 μὴ τὰς πολλὰς, τὰς πάνυ πολλὰς
 ψυχὰς ὀλέσας ὑπὸ Τροίᾳ,
 νῦν δὲ τελείαν

πολύμναστον ἐπηνθίσω δι' αἶμ' ἀνιπτον.
 ἦ τις ἦν τότε ἐν δόμοις

1460

1455. For the change from the participial to the principal construction see *v.* 1287, and *vv.* 1457—1460 below.

1456—1462. These lines are probably to be repeated as an 'epithymium' or *burden* in the antistrophe after *v.* 1475 as there indicated (Burney, followed by Wecklein; cf. *vv.* 1490 and 1514). They may however be mere recitative not included in the *strophe*.—The suggestion of Hermann that these lines are antistrophic to *vv.* 1539—1549 is not to be entertained. Apart from the want of correspondence in position, it is impossible to suppose (as the theory requires) that *vv.* 1459—1460 are the corrupt and casually united fragments of sentences originally separated by several lost verses. See note there.

1456 was perhaps originally anapaestic (though *παρανομούσα* is good in sense, *Alas! for the transgression of Helen!*). If so, *ἰὼ παρὰ πῦρ ὄνομ' οὖσ' Ἑλένα* (Housman) has some probability, literally, 'Ah thou, named *Helen* from fire', *i.e.* 'whose name is a symbol of destruction', the derivation indicated being from *ἐλάνη* *fire-brand*. "I think I find the same etymology in Euripides. In *Tro.* 891 *sqq.* Hecuba is warning Menelaus against the charms of Helen *ὄραν δὲ τὴνδε φεύγε, μή σ' ἔλῃ πόθω* | *αἰρεῖ γὰρ ἀνδρῶν ὄμματ', ἐξαἰρεῖ πόλεις*—so far the *ἔτυμον* is *ελεῖν* (see *supra v.* 693); but then she goes on—*πίμπρησι δ' οἴκους*: surely that is a glance at *ἐλάνη*" (*J. Ph.* xvi. p.

282). The facility of the supposed corruption is obvious.—*ἰὼ σὺ παρῶνυμος οὖσ' Ἑλένα* Wecklein.

1457—1460. *Many, ah many, are the lives thou hast destroyed before Troy, and now, for thy final crown, thou hast destroyed one, the stain of whose murder shall not be washed away*: literally 'thou hast crowned thyself with (the destroying of) a final life, (a destruction) memorable because the blood cannot be washed off'. With *τελείαν* the words *ψυχὰν ὀλομένην* are supplied according to Greek habit from the previous sentence.—*ἐπηνθίσω ψυχὰν ὀλομένην*: Helen is compared to a conqueror whose glory is the lives he takes; *ἐπανθίσσθαι* is 'to take on oneself as a crown' or 'glory', a metaphor from *ἄνθος* *a wreath*. See *Theb.* 933 *ἰὼ πολλοῖς ἐπανθίσσαντες πόνοισι γενεάν* *Oh with many a gallant feat have ye crowned your lineage*, and for illustrations see the note there. For the representation of the deed as a crown see *πόνους* in *Theb.* l. c. and an exact parallel in *Theb.* 705 *ἀλλ' αὐτάδελφον αἶμα δρέψασθαι θέλεις* *Is the blood of a brother the prize thou wouldst pluck?*, where also see note.—*πολύμναστον* (feminine, agreeing with *ψυχὰν*) *δι' αἶμ' ἀνιπτον* together.—There is no irregularity in these lines, nor any reason to suspect them. They are thoroughly Aeschylean both in thought and expression.

1461—1462. *ἦ τις* Schütz: *Surely there must have been erewhile between the*

ἔρις ἐρίδματος ἀνδρὸς οἰζύς.

ΚΛ. μηδὲν θανάτου μοῖραν ἐπεύχου
τοῖσδε βαρυνθείς·

μηδ' εἰς Ἑλένην κότον ἐκτρέχης†, 1465
ὡς ἀνδρολέτειρ', ὡς μία πολλῶν
ἀνδρῶν ψυχὰς Δαναῶν ὀλέσας
ἀξύστατον ἄλγος ἔπραξεν.

ΧΟ. δαῖμον, ὃς ἐμπίτνεις δώμασι καὶ διφυί- ἀντ. α'.
οῖσι Τανταλίδαισιν, 1470
κράτος τ' ἰσόψυχον ἐκ γυναικῶν

1467. ὀλέσαν.

1469. ἐμπίπτεις. διφυέισι.

1471. omits τε.

houses a hard-fought rivalry for the misery of their lords, literally 'of the husband'. Evil powers might seem to have played a match for the ruin of Agamemnon and Menelaus by means of the two wicked sisters, their wives, Clytaemnestra and Helen. The parallel has been suggested already in *vv.* 1454—55 and is further pursued below, *v.* 1469.—*τότε formerly, in the past.* For examples see *L.* and *Sc. s. v.*—*ἐν δόμοις in the house, i.e.* between the two branches of the Atridae.—*ἔρις..οἰζύς:* literally 'contention contention-surpassed, a misery to the husband'; for the apposition of *οἰζύς* in the sense 'causing misery' see on *v.* 298. *ἔρις ἐρίδματος* is an artificial but not unnatural figure of poetry for 'a contest in which effort surpasses effort'. In this fatal rivalry it were hard to say which of the sisters had done better.

1463. *μηδὲν:* emphatic negative, see *v.* 783.

1465. *ἐκτρέχης* *f* and no doubt *M* also; *ἐκτρέψης* (*g, h*, probably from the margin of *M*) is a possible correction but not probable. It is more likely that *ἐκτρέχης* covers some unknown word or form, and I have therefore simply printed it as an error.

1467. *ὀλέσαν* agreeing with *ἄλγος*, *f, g:* *ὀλέσας' h.*

1468. *ἀξύστατον incomparable* Klausen, Paley, *unexampled* Kennedy; lite-

rally 'that which cannot be weighed or balanced with' an equal. As Kennedy says, we can but judge the sense of a rare compound word from the particular context, which points here to this explanation. Clytaemnestra affects to be jealous of Helen's superiority in the mere number of her victims.—(2) *incurable* 'not to be healed' or 'closed', as a disease or wound. This is possible, but the epithet is not much to the point.—Mr Sidgwick rejects *incomparable*, apparently on the ground that in Aristoph. *Clouds* 1367 *ἀξύστατος* is applied in some sense, which is certainly not that of this passage, to Aeschylus himself. We are not bound to suppose that the word had any one fixed meaning. Like other poetical compounds, it would follow the context. I do not see that either of the above views can be disproved, though I decidedly prefer the first.

1469. *ἐμπίτνεις* Canter.—*διφυίοισι* Hermann. The mss. have substituted involuntarily the more commonplace forms.—The Chorus correct their judgment so far as that they attribute the fatal work of Helen and Clytaemnestra in the last resort to the evil genius of the race, and put the two sisters on the same level of triumph or shame.

1471—1472. τ' Hermann. *καρδιό-δηκτον* Abresch. Literally 'and winnest a victory, equal in lives on the part of the

καρδιόδηκτον ἔμοι κρατύνεις.

ἐπὶ δὲ σώματος δίκαν μοι

κόρακος ἐχθροῦ σταθεὶς ἐννόμως

ὕμνον ὕμνεῖν ἐπέυχεται. εὐχεται.

1475

<ὡς παρανόμους† Ἑλένα κτλ.>

ΚΛ. νῦν δ' ὄρθωσας στόματος γνῶμην,

τὸν τριπάχιον

δαίμονα γέννης τῆσδε κικλήσκων.

ἐκ τοῦ γὰρ ἔρως αἵματολοιχὸς

1472. καρδία δηκτὸν.

1475. ὕμνεῖν ἐπέυχεται.

women, that wounds me to the heart'. **κράτος ἰσόψυχον ἐκ γυναικῶν.** This bold phrase is explained by the preceding context, without which it would be unintelligible. In *vv.* 1457—60 Helen was ironically praised as a victor who had destroyed many lives (*ψυχάς*). Clytaemnestra, accepting and retorting the irony, demurs to the solitary glory accorded to Helen (*v.* 1466 *μία πολλῶν ψυχάς*). Here the Chorus, still in the same strain, divide the credit, as it were, saying that fate has won by means of the two wives a victory (*κράτος*) *equal in lives* as between them; *i.e.* one in which they may share the destruction equally.—Apart from the evidence of the context, *ἰσόψυχον* cannot mean *like-minded* (Paley and others), (1) because the epithet is inapplicable to *κράτος*, (2) because the compounds of *ἴσο-* have not this sense (*like*) in classical Greek but only that of *equality* or *equivalence*.—In spite of the metrical defect, I do not feel any doubt that in *ἰσόψυχον* the mss. (f, g, h) are right. The peculiarity of the word and its peculiar connexion with this context forbid us to suppose it either the invention or the blunder of a critic. The loss of τ' (Hermann) is easily accounted for: some editor, not familiar with the form of the sentence (an exclamation), struck out the copula in order to make *κράτος... κρατύνεις* into a principal clause.—**καρδιόδηκτον ἔμοι:** note that this phrase is

properly passive, *stung into my heart* or *a wound (δῆγμα) to my heart*.

1473. **δίκαν μοι κόρακος** together: *like a foul bird of prey, methinks*.

1474. **σταθεὶς** *i.e.* the *δαίμων* in the shape of Clytaemnestra; better than **σταθεῖς** (Schütz).

1474—1475: *pretends to celebrate a just and lawful triumph*, literally 'boasts that lawfully he celebrates a (theme) proper for exultation', referring to Clytaemnestra's words (*v.* 1393) *ἐγὼ δ' ἐπέυχομαι· εἰ δ' ἦν κτλ.*—**ἐπέυχεται** *matter for boasting over* is object to *ὕμνον ὕμνεῖν*. For the form see *ἀπέυχεται* and cf. *χαρτά* *matter for rejoicing*, as in *Soph. Trach.* 228 *χαρτὸν εἰ τι καὶ φέρεις*.—I suggest this reading as a simple restoration of the metre; see *v.* 1455. The assonance would be characteristic and the cause of the error manifest.

1476. **νῦν δέ** *Aye, but now thou hast corrected thy saying, etc.*

1477. **τριπάχιον:** this adjective form, though not normal, may well have been created on the analogy of such forms as *δίφαιος*.—*τριπάχωντον* Bamberger.

1479. *For therefrom is bred this craving of the maw for blood to lick, ever new gore, ere the old woe be done.* The apposition of the description *πρὶν... ἔχωρ* to *ἔρως αἵματολοιχός* (the only construction of which the text admits) is a very bold extension of the Aeschylean use noted on *v.* 1462 and elsewhere. That in *v.* 1230

νεῖρει τρέφεται, πρὶν καταλῆξαι
τὸ παλαιὸν ἄχος, νέος ἰχώρ.

1480

ΧΟ. ἦ μέγαν οἴκοις τοῖσδε

στρ. β'.

δαίμονα καὶ βαρύμηνιν αἰνεῖς,
φεῦ φεῦ, κακὸν αἶνον ἀτη-
ρᾶς τύχας ἀκορέστου·
ἰὼ ἰή, διὰ Διὸς

1485

παναιτίου πανεργέτα.

τί γὰρ βροτοῖς ἄνευ Διὸς τελεῖται;

τί τῶνδ' οὐ θεόκραντὸν ἔστιν;

ἰὼ βασιλεῦ βασιλεῦ,

1490

πῶς σε δακρύσω;

φρενὸς ἐκ φιλίας τί ποτ' εἶπω;

κεῖσαι δ' ἀράχνης ἐν ὑφάσματι τῷδ'

ἄσεβεῖ θανάτῳ βίον ἐκπνέων,

ὦμοι μοι, κοίταν τάνδ' ἀνελεύθερον,

1495

1487. πανεργέταν.

however is not dissimilar and the so-called nominative absolute (*v.* 996) resembles it in principle. If the reader feels it to be impossible (though I do not, but much admire it) I would commend Mr Housman's suggestion, *τρέφεται, καὶ νῆ, πρὶν κτλ.* 'and there flows fresh gore etc.' etc.: *νεῖρει* he deduces from *νῆ* (*flows*, see *L.* and *Sc. s. v.*) with *ρεῖ* written over it as an interpretation, which is a process possible or even probable. (See *J. Ph.* *xvi.* p. 282.)—*νείρε* Casaubon, Wel-lauer, on the evidence of Hesychius, *νείρη· κοιλία ἐσχάτη*, perhaps rightly. But there is no proof against the existence of the form *νείρος*.

1482. See Appendix II.

1483. *αἰνεῖς* thou dost celebrate, *i.e.* testify to his power.

1484. *κακὸν...ἀκορέστου*: literally 'a fatal praise of him as never tiring of deadly stroke'. The genitive *τύχας* depends on *ἀκορέστου* (masculine). The double epithet *ἀτηρᾶς...ἀκορέστου* (feminine) would not be Aeschylean.

1487. *πανεργέτα* *h*, Doric genitive of *πανεργέτας*.

1490. *ἰὼ ἰὼ h*, but the passage is not properly anapaestic, see *v.* 1494.

1493. *κεῖσαι δ'...ἐκπνέων* *And to think of thee lying etc.* From *ἐκπνέων*, which (note the tense) cannot refer to the corpse, it is seen that *κεῖσαι* is a *historic* present.—*ἀράχνης ἐν ὑφάσματι i.e.* the enveloping ἀμφίβληστρον: but in relation to the whole plot the term has more significance than the speakers at the moment perceive, a favourite device with Aeschylus and with the Attic poets generally. See the Introduction.

1495. *κοίταν* accusative 'cognate' to *κεῖσαι*.—*ἀνελεύθερον unfree, i.e. of a slave*, a peculiar and significant expression. *ἐλεύθερος* is a term strictly limited to legal, political, or social relations. A fly in a spider's web could not be called *ἀνελεύθερος*, nor a man merely because his limbs were entangled. But the fall of Agamemnon is properly *ἀνελεύθερος*, because the murder is the first act and sign of the new *τυραννίς*. See *v.* 1354 and contrast the description of Orestes' enterprise in *Cho.* 862 *φῶς ἐπ' ἐλευθερίᾳ δαίων ἀρχαῖς τε πολισσονόμοις (free and*

- δολίῳ μὶν δαμῆς
 ἐκ χερὸς ἀμφιτόμῳ βελέμνῳ.
 ΚΛ. αὐχεῖς εἶναι τόδε τοῦργον ἐμόν;
 μηδ' ἐπιλεχθῆς
 Ἀγαμεμνονίαν εἶναί μ' ἄλοχον.
 φανταζόμενος δὲ γυναικὶ νεκροῦ
 τοῦδ' ὁ παλαιὸς δριμύς ἀλάστωρ
 Ἀτρέως χαλεποῦ θοινατῆρος
 τόνδ' ἀπέτισεν.
 τέλεον νεαροῖς ἐπιθύσας.
 ΧΟ. ὥς μὲν ἀναίτιος εἶ
 τοῦδε φόνου τίς ὁ μαρτυρήσων;
 πῶ πῶ; πατρόθεν δὲ συλλή-
 πτωρ γένοιτ' ἂν ἀλάστωρ.
 βιάζεται δ' ὁμοσπόροις
 ἐπιρροαῖσιν αἱμάτων
 μέλας Ἄρης ὁ παιδικᾷ προσβαλὼν

1500

1505

ἀντ. β'.

1510

1512. ὅποι δὲ καλ.

lawful government). It is not so much Agamemnon who is here lamented as the legitimate royalty and liberties of Argos, destroyed in his person. The implied thought is that which is put explicitly by Shakespeare's Antony (*Jul. C.* 3. 2. 194) 'Great Caesar fell. O, what a fall was there, my countrymen! Then you and I and all of us fell down, Whilst bloody treason flourished over us'.

1499. μηδ' ἐπιλέχθης κτλ.: literally 'do not even suppose that this is I at all'. For the deponent meaning of the tense ἐπελέχθην (for which ἐπελεξάμην would be more regular) cf. προσδέρχθην *P. V.* 53, ὑποδεχθῆς *Eur. Her.* 757, ἐφράσθην *id. Hec.* 546, διελέχθην frequently, etc. (Paley).

1503. θοινατῆρος: see *v.* 1590 foll.

1504. τόνδ' ἀπέτισεν *hath made him to be payment for* the slain children. The rendering *punished* (ἀπετίσας) is of course erroneous (Conington).

1505: literally 'making the full-grown victim follow the young'; for τέλεος in the ritual sense see *v.* 963.

1508. πῶ; Doric form of ποῦ *where?* used, like πῶς; and πόθεν; in the sense *How should it be? Impossible*. Cf. πῶ-μαλα *not at all*. (Hermann.) Dr Wecklein cites here *Athen.* 9 p. 402 c ὅτι Αἰσχύλος διατρίψας ἐν Σικελίᾳ πολλὰς κέχρηται φωναῖς Σικελικαῖς οὐδὲν θαυμασ-τόν, a remark to be remembered also in connexion with *v.* 686.—πατρόθεν *by heredity*.—συλλήπτωρ γένοιτ' ἂν *might be found assistant (in the deed)*. The fiend, punishing the crime inherited from Atreus, might be thought to have part in the crime, which yet is the queen's.

1510—1512: *while in fresh streams of kindred blood ramps the red Manslayer, who comes to the infant gore of the babes that were served for meat*. For the conception of *Ares* as the man-devouring fiend, see on *v.* 647.—μέλας: see *Theb.* 43.—πάχνα (corrected to the dative by Hermann) is locative. With *προβαλὼν* (Canter, on metrical grounds) *πάχνα* would be instrumental, meaning 'drawn on by the blood'. *πάχνη* is properly the *clot*, or blood *congealed* (see *πήγνυμι*,

πάχνα, κουροβόρῳ παρέξει.

ὡς βασιλεὺ βασιλεῦ,

πῶς σε δακρύσω;

1515

φρενὸς ἐκ φιλίας τί ποτ' εἶπω;

κεῖσαι δ' ἀράχνης ἐν ὑφάσματι τῷδ'

ἀσεβεῖ θανάτῳ βίον ἐκπνέων,

ὦμοι μοι, κοίταν τάνδ' ἀνελεύθερον,

δολίῳ μὲν δαμείς

1520

ἐκ χερὸς ἀμφιτόμῳ βελέμνῳ.

ΧΟ.Β'. οὐτ' ἀνελεύθερον οἶμαι θάνατον

τῷδε γενέσθαι,—

ΚΛ. οὐδὲ γὰρ οὗτος δολίαν ἄτην

πεπηγώς), and the notion (whether with *προβαλῶν* or *προσβαλῶν*) is that the old crime is a *lure* which brings the fiend of murder again to the house. On the metrical question see Appendix II.—*παιδικᾶ*: see *v.* 1593 *παρέσχε δαῖτα παιδείων κρεῶν*, and for the parallel use of the form in *-ικος* cf. *ὕκον δέρμα skin of a pig*, *ἵππικὰ φρυάγματα neighing of horses*, *ἀνδρικός ἰδρώς sweat of a man*, etc.—*κουροβόρῳ παρέξει* in apposition, literally 'the serving of children as meat', i.e. 'children served as meat', the abstract *πάρεξις* (from *παρασχεῖν*, see *v.* 1593 above cited) being used, as abstracts frequently are in poetry, for the concrete, *serving* for that which is *served*.—That *παρέξει* is the dative of *πάρεξις*, not the future of *παρέχω*, appears to me certain. The future tense is inadmissible here, whether referred to the Thyestean feast or to the murder of Agamemnon. On the other hand *πάρεξις* is required to complete the allusion. As to *παιδικᾶ*, it not only fills the place with the necessary meaning but, as will be seen, reproduces the MS. almost to a letter. From the exact similarity of the language in *v.* 1593 it may be conjectured that Aeschylus follows in both places some familiar version.

1522—23. One of the queen's party, indignant at the repeated accusation of

setting up a *τυραννίς* (see on *v.* 1495), begins to answer the elders on this point, *This man, methinks, is not the victim of despots, nor—*, but here Clytaemnestra, who is in no mood for such a discussion, fiercely breaks out again upon her personal wrongs. The incident is highly significant. In every conspiracy a large part is played by those who are really deceived as to the justice of their cause and the effect of their action. For the truth of the scene and with a view to the sequel it is proper that the error and disappointment of this class should be shown. The speaker, who would defend the murder as tyrannicide, is wrong and the elders right: Clytaemnestra could stand only by the suppression of all law and opinion. Her behaviour here is already ominous and before the end of the play the situation defines itself beyond mistake.—As these lines cannot be spoken by any one of the *dramatis personae* noticed in the MS. list, they are generally struck out as an interpolation (Seidler), which however is not to be justified even on technical grounds. A critic sufficiently punctilious to quarrel with the supposed original text would certainly not have been satisfied with such grammar as οὔτε ..., οὐδὲ γάρ...

1524. οὐδὲ γὰρ οὗτος κτλ.: literally 'Then did not he either (or 'he on his

οἴκοισιν ἔθηκ' ;

1525

ἀλλ' ἐμὸν ἐκ τοῦδ' ἔρνος ἀερθὲν

τὴν πολύκλαυτον τ' Ἰφιγένειαν†

ἀνάξια δράσας ἄξια πάσχων

μηδὲν ἐν Ἄιδου μεγαλαυχέτω,

ξίφοδηλήτῳ

1530

θανάτῳ τίσας ἄπερ ἦρξεν.

ΧΟ. ἀμηχανῶ φροντίδος στερηθεῖς

στρ. γ'.

εὐπαλάμων μεριμνᾶν,

part') commit treachery against his house?' To fill up the thought in full we should in English write 'It is hard forsooth that he should suffer treachery, for he did not practise it!'

1526—28. The error here cannot be fixed exactly. More than one correction is likely. In *v.* 1527 τε, though not perhaps impossible, is very offensive. The name seems to be an explanation worked into the text. We may easily accept either Elmsley's τὴν πολύκλαυτον, ἀνάξια δράσας, | ἄξια πάσχων, | μηδὲν, or Hermann's ἄξια δράσας with τὴν πολύκλαυτον γ' (Pauw). — In Hermann's reading ἄξια...ἄξια are correlative and pleonastic. The deed is worthy of the punishment, the punishment of the deed. (Sidgwick.)

1531. ἦρξεν: from ἀρχειν to be the aggressor, to do an injury unprovoked. Mr Housman cites Eur. fr. 825 Dind. τιμωρίαν ἔτισεν ὧν ἦρξεν κακῶν, and id. H. F. 1169 τίνων δ' ἀμοιβὰς ὧν ὑπῆρξεν Ἡρακλῆς (J. Ph. xvi. p. 283).

1532. 'There are indeed injuries on both sides. It is a fatal story of wrong and retribution. And we must look for more to follow. The family is accursed'. This is the meaning, expressed under the bold figure of one expelled from his falling cottage by a storm and vainly seeking shelter. The figure must not be pressed too closely; the 'falling house' typifies vaguely the accursed family, yet the speaker is not himself exposed to the curse. But taken poetically it is highly impressive.

1533. εὐπαλάμων μεριμνᾶν. The form εὐπάλαμος was restored by Porson, the genitive plural (a simpler construction) by Enger.—*I find in the blank of my thoughts no ready hint, which way to turn, while the house totters. The storm will strike, I fear, and wreck it quite, the storm of blood. The rain is ceasing; yet Justice is but whetting once more, on the whetstone of hindrance, her sword (?) to punish again.*—δέδοικα δέ...ψεκάς δέ... Δίκαια δέ. After the fashion of the archaic λέξις εἰρουμένη, the sentences are simply strung together, their exact relations being left to the understanding. In the two last clauses the δέ is slightly adversative; after each outburst of the storm there is indeed a pause, but it is the terrible pause of preparation for the next stroke, or as the poet puts it, changing the metaphor, *Justice is sharpening her sword.* Such a time of pause between stroke and stroke is actually now just beginning; but ψεκὰς λήγει is rather general than particular. The same sense might have been put thus, *when the rain ceases, then* etc.—The current interpretation of ψεκὰς λήγει (*no longer it comes in drops, i.e. the rain begins to be heavy*) is to me quite incredible. There is no proof that ψεκὰς applied only to slight rain, and if it did, in no language could 'the shower is ceasing' stand for 'there is now falling more than a shower'.—πράγμα exaction, punishment, not simply deed: the association of πράσσειν with δίκη in this sense is so very common, that πράγμα would

ὅπα τράπωμαι, πίτνοντος οἴκου.
 δέδοικα δ' ὄμβρου κτύπον δομοσφαλῇ
 τὸν αἵματηρόν. ψεκὰς δὲ λήγει,
 Δίκα δ' ἐπ' ἄλλο πρᾶγμα θηγάνει βλάβης
 πρὸς ἄλλαις θηγάναις † μοῖρα.
 ἰὼ γὰ γὰ, εἴθε μ' ἐδέξω,
 πρὶν τόνδ' ἐπιδεῖν ἀργυροτοίχου
 δροίτας κατέχοντα χαμεύναν.
 τίς ὁ θάψων νιν; τίς ὁ θρηνήσων;
 ἢ σὺ τόδ' ἔρξαι τλήσῃ, κτείνασ'
 ἄνδρα τὸν αὐτῆς ἀποκωκύσαι
 ψυχὴν, ἄχαριν χάριν αὐτ' ἔργων
 μεγάλων ἀδίκως ἐπικρᾶναι;
 τίς δ' ἐπιτύμβιος αἶνος ἐπ' ἀνδρὶ θείῳ
 ξὺν δακρύοις ἰάπτων
 ἀληθείᾳ φρενῶν πονήσει;

1533. εὐπάλαμνον μέριμναν.

1537. θήγει.

1539. 'hemichorii notam habent f g'.

naturally take colour from the juxtaposition.—**θηγάνει** Hermann.—**βλάβης**... **θηγάναις** *whetstones of hindrance*; the interval during which crime (as in the case of Clytaemnestra) may hold off punishment serves Justice to prepare the stroke. For **βλάβη** *hindrance*, from **βλάπτειν** *hinder*, see on *Theb.* 183.—It is possible also to take **βλάβης** with **πρᾶγμα** in the sense *deed of harm*. But the expression has little force or point.—**μοῖρα** covers some accusative, signifying the instrument which **Δίκη** whets. **θηγάναις μάχαιραν** *Musgrave*, **θηγάναισιν ἄορ** (more probably) *Housman* (*J. Ph.* xvi. 278). Possibly however it is a word unknown.—The alternative correction of **δίκα** to **δίκαν** (*Fate sharpens Justice*) would raise a strange and unsatisfactory picture.

1539—1549. Perhaps a burden to be repeated after *v.* 1565 (*Burney*).

1545. **ἄχαριν** κτλ. *A thankless compensation to award for an injury not fairly proportioned to it!* an ironically moderate expostulation.—**μεγάλων ἀδίκως**, literally 'unfairly great', are to be taken together

(not *ἀδίκως ἐπικρᾶναι*); otherwise **μεγάλων** would be pointless and feeble, whence the conjectures *μελέων*, *μιαρῶν*, *μυσαρῶν* etc.

1547. **ἐπιτύμβιον αἶνον** *Voss*; but the erroneous substitution of the nominative is not likely. **ἐπιτύμβιος**, a participial adjective agreeing with **τίς** (cf. *ὀρθριος*, *καίριος ποιεῖν τι*, etc.), should at all events stand. May not **αἶνος** be a *neuter accusative*, a parallel form, like the comparatively rare *εὐχος* beside the common *εὐχή*? The word had certainly two forms (see *αἶνη*) and might well have a third. Moreover the forms *αἰνέ-σω*, *αἰνε-τός* would lead us to expect a corresponding substantival form *αἶνος* (genit. *αἰνεος*): cf. *εὐχος*, *ἀπεύχετος*, *τέλος*, *τελέσω*, *γένος*, *γενέτης* etc.

1548. **ἰάπτων... πονήσει**. *Who standing over the hero's grave will pour forth the tearful eulogy with heart that truly aches?* The relation of the verb and participle, as we should put it, is inverted. See on *v.* 970 etc.

- ΚΛ. οὐ σὲ προσήκει τὸ μέλημ' ἀλέγειν
 τοῦτο· πρὸς ἡμῶν
 κάππεσε, κάτθανε, καὶ καταθάψομεν,
 οὐχ ὑπὸ κλαυθμῶν τῶν ἐξ οἴκων,
 ἀλλ' Ἰφιδέειά νιν ἀσπασίως
 θυγάτηρ, ὡς χρή, 1555
 πατέρ' ἀντιάσασα πρὸς ὠκύπορον
 πόρθμευμ' ἀχέων
 περὶ χεῖρα βαλοῦσα φιλήσει.
- ΧΟ. ὄνειδος ἦκει τόδ' ἀντ' ὀνειδούς.
 δύσμαχα δ' ἐστὶ κρῖναι. 1560
 φέρει φέροντ', ἐκτίνει δ' ὁ καίνων.
 μίμνει δὲ μίμνοντος ἐν θρόνῳ Διὸς
 παθεῖν τὸν ἔρξαντα· θέσμιον γάρ.
 τίς ἂν γονὰν ἀραῖον ἐκβάλοι δόμων;
 κεκόλληται γένος προσάψαι. 1565
 <ἰὼ γὰ γὰ κτλ.>

1550. μέλημα λέγειν.

1562. χρόνω' (i.e. χρόνῳ).

1558. φλήση.

1564. ῥᾶον.

1550. μέλημ' ἀλέγειν (Karsten) *to regard this duly*.—If these anapaests were originally antistrophic to *vv.* 1566—1576, two lines have been lost here or inserted there. But there is no trace of this in the text nor any reason to presume the correspondence.

1557. ἀχέων (originally ἀχαιῶν) *g.* It is probable therefore that *M* had ἀχέων. ἀχέων (*f*) may be accepted provisionally.

1558. φιλήσει Stanley.

1562. θρόνῳ (?) Schütz. For some unexplained reason χρόνος occurs, where the sense points to θρόνος, several times in Aeschylus. So clearly in *Eum.* 18, and probably in *Eum.* 1001. But to substitute θρόνος is not altogether satisfactory: for θρόνος was a very familiar word in later Greek, and the confusion of *χ* and *θ* is not frequent in *M*. However it may be accepted as an expedient.

1564. γονὰν ἀραῖον Hermann, *the accursed breed*.

1565. *It is a sort that sticketh fast,*

literally 'the kind is glued for the fixing on', where 'fixing on' is *transitive*. The metaphor is excluded from poetry in English; but this is accidental and irrelevant. προσάψαι is an explanatory infinitive. The word is from the same vocabulary as κεκόλληται itself.—πρὸς ἄτq Blomfield, 'the family is fastened (glued) to calamity', a suggestion not deserving the vogue which it has obtained. Not only does the metaphor thus become extremely harsh; but it is not to be supposed that γονή and γένος, words closely cognate and practically synonymous, should bear totally different meanings in the same context.

1566. *Up to this death it hath truly followed prophecy; but for all that I am willing* etc. ἐς τόνδε literally 'up to this man' i.e. Agamemnon, to whose corpse she points: he is the last at present in the fatal series (see *vv.* 1561—1565). —ἐνέβη: the subject is 'the

ΚΛ. ἐς τόνδ' ἐνέβη ξὺν ἀληθείᾳ
 χρησμόν, ἐγὼ δ' οὖν
 ἐθέλω δαίμονι τῷ Πλεισθениδᾶν
 ὅρκους θεμένη τάδε μὲν στέργειν,
 δύστλητά περ ὄνθ', ὃ δὲ λοιπόν, ἰόντ'
 ἐκ τῶνδε δόμων ἄλλην γενεάν
 τρίβειν θανάτοις αὐθένταισιν.
 κτεάνων τε μέρος
 βαιὸν ἐχούσῃ πᾶν, ἀπόχρη' μοι δ'
 ἀλληλοφόνους
 μανίας μελάρων ἀφελοῦσῃ.

1570

1575

1570. δύσπλητα.

fate' or 'curse' of the family, naturally supplied from *vv.* 1564—65 and more exactly expressed by *δαίμων* in the following clause.—*χρησμόν*: accusative of space with *ἐμβαίνειν walk in*, as a verb of motion; cf. Eur. *Suppl.* 989 *τήνδ' ἐμβαίνουσα κέλευθον, walking this way*. The accusative is the only case which the verb in this sense admits; the dative belongs to the more common sense *tread upon*. The *χρησμός* is the path which so far fate has *walked or trodden*. The prophecy of Calchas (*vv.* 153 foll.) traces events up to the death of Agamemnon and only so far; and the allusion may be to this or to some other like prophecy not recorded. It is not however necessary to suppose any prophecy more particular than the general sentence against the house. 'This', concedes the queen, 'has so far been fulfilled; let us hope that so far will be far enough'.—The *ms.* reading is far better and more clear than any of the proposed corrections (*ἐνέβης Canter, χρησμός Casaubon*). The error has lain in connecting *τόνδε* with *χρησμόν*, whereas here, as frequently and in fact in the dramatic poets generally, *ὅδε* is *deictic* and the meaning of it is given by the gesture.

.. 1567. Πλεισθениδᾶν and Πλεισθένους γένος *v.* 1602. The origin of this family name is uncertain.

1570. δύστλητά *g.*—*ἰόντα τὸν δαίμονα*: 'that he-depart and vex' etc. The relation of the clauses would in later style be more exactly indicated; 'I am willing to come to terms with the genius of the house, and to say nothing of the past *if he will* now depart elsewhere'. The notion of such a bargain and the reasonable air of Clytaemnestra's proposal is of course but a ghastly jest.

1573—1576. *A part of the wealth is but a small thing to me, who have it all, and moreover 'tis enough for me if I but rid the house of this internecine frenzy*. Pursuing the figure of a bargain with fate, she declares herself ready to make material sacrifices! If the departing *δαίμων* will take with him some of the *εὐδαιμονία*, he is welcome to take it; she can afford it, and would besides readily spend something for the peace of this unfortunate family. It should be remembered here that Clytaemnestra is not herself of the Pelopid house. She is pleased to speak as one who has suffered much by connexion with it and would gladly, even at some cost, have done with its boasted but unhappy *δαίμων*. For the *εὐδαιμονία* of the Pelopidae see Eur. *Or.* 972 *οἷχεται πρόπασα γέννα Πέλοπος ὃ τ' ἐπὶ μακαρίους ζῆλος ἂν ποτ' οἴκοις*, and so frequently.—*τε...δέ*: *not merely...but*; the substitution of *δέ* for *τε* in the second

ΑΙΓΙΣΘΟΣ.

ὦ φέγγος εὐφρον ἡμέρας δικηφόρου,
 φαίην ἂν ἤδη νῦν βροτῶν τιμαύρους
 θεοὺς ἄνωθεν γῆς ἐποπτεύειν ἄχῃ,
 ἰδὼν ὑφαντοῖς ἐν πέπλοις Ἑρινύων
 τὸν ἄνδρα τόνδε κείμενον φίλως ἐμοί,
 χερὸς πατρώας ἐκτίνοντα μηχανάς.
 Ἄτρεὺς γὰρ ἄρχων τῆσδε γῆς, τούτου πατὴρ,
 πατέρα Θυέστην τὸν ἐμόν, ὡς τορῶς φράσαι,
 αὐτοῦ τ' ἀδελφόν, ἀμφίλεκτος ὧν κράτει,

1580

1585

of two clauses, when *τε* has been promised, marks that there is a rise or climax: see *Theb.* 571 and references there given.—*ἀπόχρη μοι*: the position of the pronoun, which is displaced for emphasis, shows that the form is *ἐμοί*, not *μοί*.—*ἀπόχρη* is impersonal.—Great difficulty has been made here by want of punctuation. Supposing the four verses to be one sentence, Auratus changed *τε* in *v.* 1573 (as in that case would be necessary) to *δέ*, and Canter struck out *δέ* in *v.* 1574. This destroyed the metre (*μοι* | ἀλληλολόφονους) and accordingly Erfurdt rearranged the words thus, *μανίας μελάρων ἀλληλοφόνους*, with all which changes they are commonly printed. But even so there is no tolerable result; in the supposed sentence *κτεάνων μέρος βαῖδιν ἐχούσῃ πᾶν ἀπόχρη μοι* the word *πᾶν* is superfluous and unconstruable (see Housman *J. Ph.* xvi. 277). Nor is the sense suitable, such as it is: Clytaemnestra does not offer, even in jest, to reduce herself to poverty: she only says with mock generosity that she would sacrifice a part of the slain king's wealth to be rid of the *δαίμων* which pursues his family. There is no real difficulty in the ms. The position of *δέ* would be justified according to Aeschylus' usage by the close connexion of the preceding words, and with the emphasis on *ἐμοί* it is the preferable order. It may be observed that if any editor had wished to restore

the faulty metre (which is supposed to be the origin of *δέ*) he would presumably have adopted the obvious expedient of Erfurdt.

1577. See the Introduction. The speech of Aegisthus sets forth (1) his claim or pretended claim to the throne (*vv.* 1585, 1605), (2) his hereditary feud with the dead king, (3) his own skill in directing the conspiracy. The story of Thyestes is told in a brief allusive manner which for us, who do not know the Aeschylean version from any other source, leaves some points in it obscure.

1578. *ἤδη νῦν*, whereas hitherto *οὐκ ἔφην*. Aegisthus assumes the character of one who has long vainly waited for justice.

1579. *γῆς* depends on *ἄνωθεν*: with *ἄχῃ* is to be supplied *αὐτῶν*, *i.e.* *βροτῶν*, from the previous line: cf. Eur. *fr.* 959 Dind. *ἔστι, καὶ τις ἐγγελά λόγῳ, Ζεὺς καὶ θεοὶ βρότεια λείσسونτες πάθῃ* (Housman *J. Ph.* xvi. p. 286).

1580. *ὑφαντοῖς... Ἑρινύων* wrapped in raiment of the Erinyes' weaving, the ἀμφίβληστρον, standing as in *v.* 1495 for a type of the plot.

1581. *φίλως ἐμοί* as *I am glad to see him*.

1585. *αὐτοῦ τε*: *τε* is irregular. Usage (as pointed out by Elmsley) requires in such a case either *πατέρα τε... ἀδελφόν τε* (cf. Soph. *Trach.* 406) or *πατέρα... ἀδελφόν δέ*. Perhaps *δέ* should

ἡνδρηλάτησεν ἐκ πόλεώς τε καὶ δόμων.
καὶ προστρόπαιος ἐστίας μολὼν πάλιν
τλήμων Θυέστης μοῖραν ἤυρετ' ἀσφαλῆ,
τὸ μὴ θανὼν πατρῷον αἰμάξαι πέδον.
αὐτοῦ ξένια δὲ τοῦδε δύσθεος πατὴρ
'Ατρεὺς, προθύμως μᾶλλον ἢ φίλως πατρὶ
τῶμῳ, κρεουργὸν ἡμαρ εὐθύμως ἄγειν
δοκῶν, παρέσχε δαῖτα παιδείων κρεῶν.

1590

be restored, but as poetry not unfrequently uses a single *τε* where a prose writer would certainly use *τε...τε*, the slight inaccuracy may be the poet's own.—*ἀμφίλεκτος ὧν κράτει* being questioned in his sovereignty. For the quasi-local dative of 'the thing affected' see *Theb.* 683. The more deadly offence of Thyestes is suppressed by his son (see *v.* 1192).

1586. *τε καὶ* banished from his house and from the city as well.

1588. *μοῖραν ἤυρετ' ἀσφαλῆ τὸ μὴ κτλ.* found a partial safety so far as that he did not, literally 'obtained the saving of part'. For *μοῖρα* in its proper sense of *part* (*μεῖρομαι, μέρος*) see *Cho.* 237, *Theb.* 563, *Eur. Med.* 430.—It would not be idiomatic Greek to use *μοῖρα* ἀσφαλῆς *safe lot* as a periphrasis for ἀσφάλεια: and on the other hand the notion *partial* is required by the sense.

1590. *αὐτοῦ ξένια δὲ κτλ.*: but taking the very occasion of his arrival Atreus, the impious father of this slain man, pretending, with eagerness little welcome to my father, to hold a glad day of festival, served him a banquet of his children's flesh. *αὐτοῦ ξένια* literally 'as an arrival-feast to (Thyestes) himself', accusative in apposition to the whole act following. The peculiar treachery and cruelty of Atreus showed itself first in making the home-coming of his reconciled brother the pretended occasion for the abominable feast. The words *αὐτοῦ ξένια* being closely connected and separated from the

rest of the sentence, the position of *δέ* is natural and an aid to clearness.—It is possible also to join *αὐτοῦ* (*on the spot*) to the previous sentence; but the emphasis of the position would be false and *ξένια* without *αὐτοῦ* bald.—For the metre of *ξένια* cf. *Cho.* 1 (Wecklein).—*προθύμως...τῶμῳ*: lit. 'eagerly more than to my father welcomely'; *φίλως* is constructed as in *v.* 1581. The celebration of the feast was forced upon the unwilling suppliant, who had no motive for feigning this extravagant enthusiasm over the reconciliation, and regarded it rather with suspicion. Aeschylus no doubt gives the main lines of the story after some familiar version.—With this punctuation, giving *πατρὶ* to *φίλως*, the words appear to be intelligible and effective. If *προθύμως μᾶλλον ἢ φίλως* be stopped off separately (the usual punctuation), the text cannot be defended. "More zealous than friendly is only possible as a joke, when applied to a man who under cover of a banquet murders his brother's children; and Aegisthus is not joking" (Sidgwick).—The suggestion of Schütz to make one verse out of *vv.* 1590—1591 thus, *ξένια δὲ τοῦδε δύσθεος πατὴρ πατρὶ τῶμῳ κτλ.*, is specious but will not bear examination: *αὐτοῦ*, as already remarked, cannot be removed without loss of effect; and *προθύμως κτλ.* is, if properly punctuated, too subtle, if wrongly punctuated, too absurd to be a likely interpolation.—The assonance of *προθύμως...εὐθύμως* is to the point and therefore good.

τὰ μὲν ποδῆρη καὶ χερῶν ἄκρους κτένας
 ἔθρυπτ' ἄνωθεν ἀνδρακάς καθήμενος.
 ἄσσημα δ' αὐτῶν αὐτίκ' ἀγνοίᾳ λαβὼν
 ἔσθει βορὰν ἄσωτον, ὡς ὄρᾱς, γένει.
 κᾶππειτ' ἐπιγνοὺς ἔργον οὐ καταίσιον
 ὧμωξεν, ἀμπίπτει δ' ἀπὸ σφαγῆν ἑρῶν,
 μόρον δ' ἄφερτον Πελοπίδαις ἐπεύχεται,
 λάκτισμα δείπνου ξυνδίκως τιθεὶς ἀρᾶ,

1595

1600

1594. χρεῶν.

1599. ἀν· πίπτει δ' ἀπὸ σφαγῆς.

1594—97: uncertain. There is perhaps some error in the reading, but as we have no independent knowledge of the story followed by Aeschylus, alteration is hazardous. The sense seems to be that Atreus made of the extremities a mince or broth, which being spread over (*ἄνωθεν*) the roasted bodies prevented Thyestes from recognizing them for what they were until he had eaten of the θρύμματα.—*ἄσσημ.* δ δ' (Dindorf for *ἄσσημα δ'*) is perhaps right: *ἔσθει* as it stands should have for subject *Atreus*: however such obscurity is found in Greek as in other languages (e.g. v. 1606).—*ἀνδρακάς καθήμενος* *viritum sedens* is strictly speaking a solecism; the word *ἀνδρακάς* *man by man, singly*, requires a plural subject, and the company, not the host, should be said *καθῆσθαι ἀνδρακάς*. On the other hand such expressions are not unknown or very uncommon, where a single person has a representative character: thus we might certainly say in English, 'One commander preferred to advance in large divisions, the other in small', where the phrase *in large divisions* applies properly to the army. Similarly it is not impossible that a host should be said *καθῆσθαι ἀνδρακάς* with the meaning that his company sat so.—*καθημένους* (Casaubon) will not pass, as it would certainly imply that the human flesh was served to the whole company.—*ἄνευθεν ἀνδρακάς καθήμενων* *apart from the company seated singly* Wecklein (ed. 1887).—The object of mentioning the arrangement of the com-

pany (according to the archaic fashion) at separate small tables is to show how the fatal mess was safely served to Thyestes only: see the account of the similar feast of Harpagos in Herod. i. 119, and cf. Eur. *Iph. T.* 949 *ξένια μονοτράπεζα* (Wecklein).—*ἄνωθεν ἄνθρακος καθημένου* *over kindled coals* (Housman *J. Ph.* xvi. 285) bears a striking resemblance to the MS., but it seems improbable that a word so peculiar and appropriate as *ἀνδρακάς* is a penman's error. No absolutely certain objection lies against the text, and I prefer to leave it under reserve.

1596. *αὐτῶν αὐτίκ' ἀγνοίᾳ* *not knowing the meat at the moment for what it was*: *αὐτά*, as usual, has an emphasis, literally 'the meat itself'. The adverb *αὐτίκα* belongs in sense to the substantive.

1599. *ἀμπίπτει* Canter.—*ἀπὸ σφαγῆν ἑρῶν* (Auratus) *i.e. ἀπερῶν σφαγῆν, disgorging the (sacrificial) meat*.

1601. "It is perhaps simplest to construe this 'spurning the banquet to aid his curse', *σύνδικος* being properly *one who pleads with you, an aider in the cause*. *συνδίκως* governs *ἀρᾶ*.... The violent crash of the banquet was the symbol (*οὕτως*) of the invoked destruction of the family" (Sidgwick). I prefer this to the alternative rendering of *συνδίκως* *generally, or in common*, which has little point and is not sufficiently supported by the use of the word.—*οὕτως*. The analogy intended is more close than that of mere overthrowing. The death of

οὕτως ὀλέσθαι πᾶν τὸ Πλεισθένους γένος.
 ἐκ τῶνδ' ἐσσι πεσόντα τόνδ' ἰδεῖν πάρα.
 καὶ γὰρ δίκαιος τοῦδε τοῦ φόνου ῥαφεύς·
 τρίτον γὰρ ὄντα μ' ἐπίδικ' ἀθλίῳ πατρὶ
 συνεξελαύνει τυτθὸν ὄντ' ἐν σπαργάνοις·
 τραφέντα δ' αὖθις ἡ δίκη κατήγαγεν.
 καὶ τοῦδε τάνδρ' ἡψάμην θυραῖος ὦν,
 πᾶσαν ξυνάψας μηχανὴν δυσβουλίας.
 οὕτω καλὸν δὴ καὶ τὸ κατθανεῖν ἐμοί,
 ἰδόντα τοῦτον τῆς δίκης ἐν ἔρκεσιν.

1605

1610

1605. ἐπὶ δέκ'.

Agamemnon has been achieved, like the outrage of Atreus, under the pretence of a sacrificial feast in honour of a home-coming. With the Homeric version (see the Introduction) the similarity would be even closer, since the feast of Aegisthus was properly *ξένια*: and we may reasonably guess that when the Thyestean story was first grafted on to the legend, the *λάκτισμα δείπνου* also played a more important part in the revenge, being perhaps the signal for the treacherous assault.

1605. *ἐπίδικα...πατρὶ* in satisfaction of my unhappy father's claim, literally 'as what was liable to his claim'. In mockery of Thyestes' claim to share the royal inheritance (v. 1585) Atreus pretended to have discharged all obligations by sparing and banishing along with him the third child. If the Aeschylean legend agreed with the common version in giving to Pelops three sons (Atreus, Thyestes, Chrysippus), the parallel extends to *τρίτον, me, as his lawful third*. The word *ἐπίδικος* was specially applied to a disputed inheritance and marks the point upon which Aegisthus naturally insists, that he is of the royal family and represents a legal claim to the succession. The story of the 'banquet', for which after all Agamemnon was not responsible, is brought in only *ad invidiam*.—The correctness of this reading receives con-

firmation from *δίκαιος* in v. 1604 and still more from *ἡ δίκη* ('the justice of the cause') in v. 1607 and v. 1611. The use of the article with a mere general term or personification (*Justice*) is not according to Aeschylus' habit (so we have *δίκη*, not *ἡ δίκη*, in vv. 767, 1537, *Theb.* 633, 654, 658 etc. *passim*). It is to the preceding *ἐπίδικα* that *ἡ δίκη* and *τῆς δίκης* refer; Aegisthus finds a proper answer to the cruel jest of Atreus in the fact that the child sent away with Thyestes 'as representing his right' has now come back to avenge that right.—The ms. *ἐπὶ δέκ'* (*thirteenth child*) is absurd; but the corrections proposed (*ἐπὶ δυσσθλίῳ*, *ἐπὶ δυσσθλίῳ* etc.), besides being open to other objections, do not supply what the sense requires. Without *ἐπίδικα*, or something of this kind, vv. 1604—1607 do not hang together.

1608. *ἡψάμην θυραῖος ὦν* - *I have reached him from my exile*, literally 'while abroad'. He compliments himself upon the skill with which he has drawn together the threads of the conspiracy and 'contrived' the execution of it, under all the disadvantages of one who dared not openly appear in the country.

1611. *ἰδόντα*: for the acc. with the inf., notwithstanding *ἐμοί*, see *P. V.* 234, *Soph. Ai.* 1006, *Eur. Med.* 814. (Siddwick, Wecklein.)

ΧΟ. Ἀγισθ', ὑβρίζειν ἐν κακοῖσιν οὐ σέβω·
 σὺ δ' ἄνδρα τόνδε φῆς ἐκὼν κατακτανεῖν,
 μόνος δ' ἔποικτον τόνδε βουλεύσαι φόνον;
 οὐ φημ' ἀλύξειν ἐν δίκῃ τὸ σὸν κάρα
 δημορριφεῖς, σάφ' ἴσθι, λευσίμους ἄρας.

1615

ΑΙ. σὺ ταῦτα φωνεῖς νερτέρᾳ προσήμενος
 κώπη, κρατούντων τῶν ἐπὶ ζυγῷ δορός;
 γνῶσει γέρων ὦν ὡς διδάσκεσθαι βαρὺ
 τῷ τηλικούτῳ σωφρονεῖν εἰρημένον.
 δεσμῶν δὲ καὶ τὸ γήρας αἶ τε νήστιδες

1620

1617. νετέρᾳ.

1621. δεσμόν.

1612. ὑβρίζειν.....σέβω, σὺ δὲ κτλ. *Aegisthus*—not that I care to insult misery,—dost thou etc. They think, or try to think, not recognizing the full extent of their calamity and putting their own sense upon Aegisthus' talk of dying (v. 1610), that the murderer has run to his own destruction. The antithesis indicated by δέ is between the sentiment ὑβρίζειν...οὐ σέβω and their manner of speaking to Aegisthus as one doomed. At the same time they reflect obliquely upon the ὕβρις of Aegisthus himself.

1613. φῆς ἐκὼν *profess unmasked*, 'volunteer the statement' in modern phrase. The use of φημι extends to admission as well as assertion; see v. 1578. They are surprised that he should anticipate trial (ἐν δίκῃ v. 1615) by admitting a complicity which will cost his life.—The suspicions directed against ἐκὼν arise from the error of joining it with κατακτα-νεῖν.

1616: *imprecations which the people, trust me, shall hail on thee in shape of stones, i.e. 'their curses which will doom thee to the death of stoning'*. The point of this expression, and of the emphasis on the word δημορριφεῖς, lies in the contrast between these δημορριφεῖς ἄραι and the μηχανῇ δυσβουλίας (also a δημορριφῆς ἄρά in a totally different sense of the words: see vv. 464 and 875), of which Aegisthus has just boasted. His lan-

guage brings home to the elders, for the first time, the consciousness that the 'popular conspiracy', which they dreaded, has been in actual existence all this while and that the murderers are supported by a powerful party. They still hope however that it may be outnumbered, a hope quickly dispelled by Aegisthus' contempt.

1617. νετέρᾳ. The reading of f (νετέρᾳ) points perhaps to the form νητέρα (νετέρᾳ): cf. νήιστα· ἔσχατα, κατώτατα, Hesychius.—The two parties are compared to the ζυγίται (rowers of the upper tier) and θαλαμίται (lower tier) in a bireme ship (Klausen).

1619. διδάσκεσθαι...σωφρονεῖν εἰρημένον *to have impressed upon him the lesson of prudence*, literally 'to take teaching, when prudence is enjoined'. εἰρημένον is acc. absolute.

1621. δεσμῶν...αἶ τε νήστιδες *δύαι the pains of imprisonment and the pains of hunger*. The genitive δεσμῶν (depending on δύαι) is required by the article αἶ, justifiable according to the use of Aeschylus only if αἶ νήστιδες δύαι are contrasted with some other δύαι.—Both the trustworthy copies (f, g) give the impossible reading δεσμόν, reproducing doubtless that of M, in which ο and ω are not seldom accidentally confused, the sounds having been probably indistinguishable. The *Cod. Farn.*, as might be expected, offers

δύαι διδάσκειν ἐξοχώταται φρενῶν
 ἱατρομάντεϊς. οὐχ ὀρᾶς ὀρώων τάδε;
 πρὸς κέντρα μὴ λάκτιζε, μὴ παίσας μογῆς.

XO. γύναι, σὺ τοὺς ἤκοντας ἐκ μάχης νέον 1625

οἰκουρὸς εὐνὴν ἀνδρὸς αἰσχύνουσ' ἄμα—;
 ἀνδρὶ στρατηγῷ τόνδ' ἐβούλευσας μόρον.

AI. καὶ ταῦτα τᾶπη κλαυμάτων ἀρχηγενῇ.
 Ὅρφεϊ δὲ γλῶσσαν τὴν ἐναντίαν ἔχεις· 1630

ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἦγε πάντ' ἀπὸ φθογγῆς χαρᾶ,
 σὺ δ' ἐξορίνας ἠπίους ὑλάγμασιν
 ἄξει· κρατηθεὶς δ' ἡμερώτερος φανεῖ.

XO. ὥς δὴ σὺ μοι τύραννος Ἀργείων ἔσει,

1624. πῆσας.

δεσμός, which makes indeed a construction but would be intolerably obscure, as suggesting irresistibly that τὸ γῆρας is nominative and coupled to *δεσμός* by *καὶ*.—*καὶ τὸ γῆρας...διδάσκειν* to teach even your age. The infinitive is explanatory, depending on *ἐξοχ.* *εἰσὶν ἱατρ.*—τὸ γῆρας has the article (*the*, or rather *that, such*) as referring to γέρον preceding. In the archaistic language of Aeschylus the 'article' is still felt as a demonstrative, and very rarely employed except where it is indispensable.

1623. *Doth not this sight warn thee?* literally 'dost not thou beware, seeing this?' a kind of play on the two senses of the word.—τάδε the whole scene.

1624. Cf. *P. V.* 339.—μὴ παίσας (schol. on *Pind. Pyth.* 2. 173) μογῆς lest hitting thou hurt thyself.

1625. *Thou woman! To thee, who abodest at home, helping to defile a brave man's bed, to thee shall warriors fresh returned from battle—? It is a captain of soldiers whose death thou hast thus contrived!* The interrogative sentence γύναι...ἄμα—; which requires to complete it a verb such as *κρατήσεις* or *καταστρέψει*, is broken off in the violence of indignation, and the point of it is expressed in another shape. Similarly the translation requires the completion *yield*

or *submit*: the change of form is made necessary by the order of words in an uninflected language.—αἰσχύνουσα principle of the imperfect. ἄμα: with another woman, the wife.—The elders (if this speaker be not rather a surviving soldier) threaten the murderer with the vengeance of the veterans. But these are already slain or overpowered, which is part of Aegisthus' meaning in his reply.—μένων (for νέον) Wieseler, αἰσχύνων Keck, but without reason. It is possible that *v.* 1627 is an interpolation, formed in part from *v.* 1634: if so, it would be by Aegisthus that the speaker is interrupted. But it is a strong objection to this, that the only motive for interpolation would be to complete the construction, which *v.* 1627 does not complete. I believe the text to be sound.

1630. ἀπὸ φθογγῆς χαρᾶ: see *vv.* 1365, 1412 etc.

1631. ἠπίους soothing, properly applicable to the music with which Orpheus tamed the beasts, is transferred to the ὑλάγματα in irony.—νηπίους Jacob.

1632. ἄξει: i.e. ἀπάξει, passive, *wilt be haled* to prison.

1633. ὥς δὴ...ἔσει *thou forsooth shalt be* etc.: another elliptical phrase of indignation for '(do you mean forsooth) that you shall be?' This ellipse became

- ὅς οὐκ, ἐπειδὴ τῷδ' ἐβούλευσας μόρον,
 δρᾶσαι τόδ' ἔργον οὐκ ἔτλης αὐτοκτόνως; 1635
- ΑΙ. τὸ γὰρ δολῶσαι πρὸς γυναικὸς ἦν σαφῶς·
 ἐγὼ δ' ὑποπτος ἐχθρὸς ἦ παλαιγενής.
 ἐκ τῶν δὲ τοῦδε χρημάτων πειράσομαι
 ἄρχειν πολιτῶν· τὸν δὲ μὴ πειθάνορα 1640
 ζεύξω βαρείαις οὔτι μὴ σειραφόρον
 κριθῶντα πῶλον· ἀλλ' ὁ δυσφιλὴς κότῳ
 λιμὸς ξύνοικος μαλθακὸν σφ' ἐπόψεται.
 ΧΟ. τί δὴ τὸν ἄνδρα τόνδ' ἀπὸ ψυχῆς κακῆς
 οὐκ αὐτὸς ἠνάριζες, ἀλλὰ σὺν γυνή,

1637. ἦ.

1638. τῶνδε.

fixed in the language and occurs also in Eur. *Andr.* 234, Soph. *O. C.* 809 (where see Jebb's note) and elsewhere.

1634. ἐβούλευσας: see *vv.* 1609, 1614, 1627. They harp in scorn upon his own language.

1635. αὐτοκτόνως: here 'as sole murderer' a good example of freedom in the new application of compound words.

1637. ἦ Porson.

1638: *i.e.* he will apply the treasure and spoils of Agamemnon in payment of his hireling followers. ἐκ τῶν δὲ Jacob.

1640. ζεύξω βαρείαις (ζεύγλαις). Similar ellipses are πλεγγῆναι πολλὰς (πληγὰς), γνῶναι τὴν νικῶσαν (γνώμην) etc.—οὔτι μὴ...κριθῶντα *not, be assured, with high feeding, like a horse for the trace.* The horse which ran with a separate trace (σειραφόρος) is contrasted with those driven under the yoke. The strength of the trace-horse was of great importance at the turns of the chariot-race: hence κριθῶντα (Wecklein).—The appearance of irregularity in this sentence (οὐ μὴ or οὔτι μὴ being properly constructed with finite verbs, subj. or future indicative) is an appearance only. In reality the negative applies by relation to the verb ζεύξω.—οὔτι μὴν Karsten.

1641. ὁ δυσφιλὴς κότῳ λιμὸς ξύνοικος *hunger that will not dwell at peace with*

rage, literally 'hunger, that is to rage ill-friendly as a housemate', so called because where hunger comes rage is 'turned out of doors', or in plain words the angry spirit is tamed.—This picturesque and characteristic personification is in my opinion undoubtedly genuine. The prevalent alteration *δυσφιλεῖ σκότῳ* (Scaliger) spoils the point and reduces the significant *δυσφιλήs* to a feeble and inappropriate epithet.

1643. The haste, with which Aegisthus drops the topic of his part in the exploit and falls back upon threats (*vv.* 1636—42), shows that, notwithstanding his plausible reply, he is sensitive to the taunt of cowardice and care for his own safety. Accordingly his enemies instantly urge it again.—*Vv.* 1643—48 are placed by Heimsoeth after *v.* 1627 on the ground that it is useless to ask a question already answered. But a furious altercation of this kind is not subject to the rules of logical debate.

1644. σὺν *with thee also*: see *vv.* 591, 1270, 1358. *Why must his wife join with thee in the murder?*—There is no error here: it is the cue of the speakers to treat Aegisthus as primarily responsible, according to his own declaration. The reading has been suspected only from the misrepresentation of the plot, which gives Aegisthus no part to play

χώρας μίᾱσμα καὶ θεῶν ἐγχωρίων,
 ἔκτειν'; Ὀρέστης ἄρά που βλέπει φάος,
 ὅπως κατελθὼν δεῦρο πρηνυμενεῖ τύχῃ
 ἀμφοῖν γένηται τοῖνδε παγκρατῆς φονεύς;

1645

ΑΙ. ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ δοκεῖς τὰδ' ἔρδειν καὶ λέγειν, γνώσει τάχα.

ΧΟ.γ'. εἶα δὴ, φίλοι λοχῖται, τοῦργον οὐχ ἑκὰς τόδε. 1650

ΑΙ. εἶα δὴ, ξίφος πρόκωπον πᾶς τις εὐτρεπιζέτω.

ΧΟ. ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ γὼ πρόκωπος οὐκ ἀναίνομαι θανεῖν.

ΧΟ.γ'. δεχομένοις λέγεις θανεῖν σε· τὴν τύχην δ' αἰρούμεθα.

ΚΛ. μηδαμῶς, ὦ φίλτατ' ἀνδρῶν, ἄλλα δρᾶσωμεν κακά.

1652. καὶ γὼ μὴν.

1653. εἰρούμεθα.

and thus obscures the meaning not only of these lines but of the whole scene.

1645. *χώρας...ἐγχωρίων* in apposition to the notion τὸ τὴν γυναῖκα κτεῖναι.

1649—53. There is some uncertainty here as to the distribution of the parts. The tradition, as originally given by f, the most trustworthy of the MSS., divides them thus 1649 *Aeg.*, 1650 *Cho.*, 1651 *Aeg.*, 1652 *Aeg.*, 1653 *Cho.* At 1651 the mark is corrected to *Cho.* and the arrangement so corrected agrees with g and h. The arrangement now generally prevalent gives 1649—50 and 1652 to Aegisthus, 1651 and 1653 to the elders; some further suppose that a verse is lost before 1650. The difficulty has arisen, I believe, from the fact that there are really not two parties, as commonly supposed, but three, Aegisthus, the elders, and the *λοχῖται* of Aegisthus. That one of these *λοχῖται* speaks is strongly indicated by v. 1653. From the use of the plural (*αἰρούμεθα*) we should naturally suppose that the speaker is a *choreutes*; and yet it is clearly the party of Aegisthus who are about to commence the fight, or rather massacre, and therefore should have the last word before the queen's interference. The distribution above given (which follows f everywhere except at 1652) is to be understood thus: seeing the turn which the altercation is taking one of Aegisthus' impatient troop (1650) exclaims with joy to his comrades that

they will not have to wait much longer. At Aegisthus' order (1651) they draw their swords, whereupon the elders and the few who are with them draw also and prepare to sell their lives dearly (hence οὐκ ἀναίνομαι θανεῖν, language not appropriate to the party now triumphant). The others eagerly accept their defiance and are at the point to fall on when Clytaemnestra interferes.—This view has the incidental advantage of accounting for the error and uncertainty in the MS. tradition. The ancient editors here, as in some other places, were short of *personae*.

1649. γνώσει τάχα 'thou shalt have an *immediate* lesson', contrasted with the long discipline of imprisonment. The emphasis is on τάχα.

1652. μὴν καὶ γὼ Porson.

1653. αἰρούμεθα Auratus. δεχομένους and τὴν τύχην αἰρούμεθα mean the same thing, that they accept the favourable omen of the others' despair.

1654. The motive of Clytaemnestra in this interference is disguised, and the truth of the scene injured, by needless changes in vv. 1656 and 1659. It is essential to the advantage of the tyrants that the elders should remain prisoners and liable to suffer, and therefore that they should not be killed. The piety of Clytaemnestra is edifying but not disinterested. As to liberating the elders, there is never any question of it.

ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰδ' ἐξαμῆσαι πολλά, δύστηνον θέρος. 1655
 πημονῆς δ' ἄλις γ' ὑπάρχει μηδὲν αἵματόμεθα.
 †στείχετε δ' οἱ γέροντες πρὸς δόμους πεπρωμένους τούσδε,
 πρὶν παθεῖν ἔρξαντες καιρόν· χρῆν τὰδ' ὡς ἐπράξαμεν.†
 εἰ δέ τοι μόχθων γένοιτο τῶνδ' ἄλις γ', ἐχοίμεθ' ἄν,
 δαίμονος χηλῇ βαρεῖα δυστυχῶς πεπληγμένοι. 1660
 ᾧδ' ἔχει λόγος γυναικός, εἴ τις ἀξιοῖ μαθεῖν.

AI. ἀλλὰ τούσδε μοι ματαίαν γλῶσσαν ᾧδ' ἀπανθίσαι

1655. ὁ ἔρως.

1655. "The order of the words points to taking **πολλά** as predicate. *Even these are many to reap, a bitter harvest.* The commoner rendering *Even to reap these many woes is a bitter harvest* is possible, but would rather require *τοσαῦτα*." Sidgwick.—**θέρος** Schütz, O for Θ.

1656. **πημονῆς δ' ἄλις γ' ὑπάρχει** *let punishment at least begin with what is enough: let us shed no blood*, literally, 'as to punishment, make beginning of it at all events to a sufficient extent'. **πημονῆς** *pain* but with the secondary suggestion of punishment (cf. our *pains and penalties*), as in *P. V.* 601 ἐνέξευας ἀμαρτοῦσαν ἐν πημοναῖς and in that play frequently. For the regular construction of the genitive with **ὑπάρχειν** see L. and Sc. s.v.—The disciplinary imprisonment, which Aegisthus has already promised, may prove sufficient to subdue rebellion, so that to inflict death would be premature. The point is put still more clearly in *v.* 1659.—**ὑπάρχει** Scaliger.

1657—58 are beyond restoration, having clearly been both miswritten and ill-mended: **ἐξάντα** g, h: M probably had **ἐρξαντας**, as Mr Housman infers, but it is not certain even whether this **ἐρξαντας**, or the word which it represents, is (as seems to be more commonly assumed) from **ἐρδω**, **ρέζω** or from **εἰργω**, the two verbs having the tenses **ἐρξειν** and **ἐρξαι** in common. I should myself guess the general sense to be **στείχετ' ἤδη τοὺς γέροντας ἐς δόμους πεπρωμένους πρὶν παθεῖν ἔρποντες**, 'go at once and take

them to prison before they come to harm', an order addressed to her attendants and spoken as if she would gladly save the elders from their own folly. The expression **δόμους πεπρωμένους** *destined dwelling-place* is not inapplicable to a prison. All however is uncertain, and the doubt extends to **χρῆν τὰδ' ὡς ἐπράξαμεν**, which may or may not be a sentence complete, according as we correct **καιρόν**.

1659. *And if we find that this suffering has gone far enough, we will stay our hand*, literally 'if of these sufferings there should prove to have been enough' (**γε** throws the emphasis upon **ἄλις**), if, that is, confinement and starvation produce submission.—**μόχθων**. This word like **πημονή** is applied in the *Prometheus* repeatedly to the punishment of the hero.—**ἐχοίμεθ' ἄν** 'we will refrain or stop and inflict no more'. For this sense of the verb see examples in L. and Sc. s.v. C, iv.—**δεχοίμεθ'** Martin.

1660: *smitten as we have been by the grievous spur of fate*. She speaks of the murders already done as an unhappy necessity.—**χηλῇ**. Wecklein compares *Pers.* 518 ᾧ δυσπρόνυτε δαίμων ὡς ἄγαν βαρὺς ποδοῖν ἐνήλλου παντὶ Περσικῷ γένει.

1662. **ματαίαν γλῶσσαν...ἀπανθίσαι** *flaunt the folly of their tongues*, literally, 'make a foolish tongue break out in bloom'. Cf. R. Browning, *Caliban upon Setebos*, 'letting the rank tongue blossom into speech'. This, rather than 'cull the flower' of the tongue, is the sense which

κακβαλεῖν ἔπη τοιαῦτα δαίμονος πειρωμένους.

†σώφρονος γνώμης δ' ἀμαρτήτου κρατοῦντα.

ΧΟ. οὐκ ἂν Ἀργείων τόδ' εἴη, φῶτα προσσαίνειν κακόν. 1665

ΑΙ. ἀλλ' ἐγὼ σ' ἐν ὑστέραισιν ἡμέραις μέτείμ' ἔτι.

ΧΟ. οὐκ, ἐὰν δαίμων Ὀρέστην δεῦρ' ἀπειθύνῃ μολεῖν.

ΑΙ. οἶδ' ἐγὼ φεύγοντας ἄνδρας ἐλπίδας σιτουμένους.

ΧΟ. πρᾶσσε, πιαίνου, μαιίνων τὴν δίκην· ἐπεὶ πάρα.

ΑΙ. ἴσθι μοι δώσω ἀποῖνα τῆσδε μωρίας χάριν. 1670

ΧΟ. κόμπασον θαρσῶν, ἀλέκτωρ ὥστε θηλείας πέλας.

ΚΛ. μὴ προτιμήσῃς ματαίων τῶνδ' ὑλαγμάτων· ἐγὼ
καὶ σὺ θήσομεν κρατοῦντε τῶνδε δωμάτων καλῶς.

1663. δαίμονας.

1671. ὥσπερ.

1672—3. omits ἐγὼ and καλῶς.

the context suggests.—The infinitive is the exclamatory infinitive of indignation.

1663. δαίμονος (Casaubon: the MSS. have involuntarily accommodated the case to πειρωμένους) *tempting their fate*.

1664. If δ' is correct, the verse cannot be a continuation of the foregoing, which would require either καί or τε. Perhaps therefore it should be given to Clytaemnestra and written thus, σώφρονος γνώμης δ' ἀμαρτῇ τὸν κρατοῦνθ' ἀμαρτάνειν, literally 'But that he who is master of them should lose his senses along with them!' *i.e.* 'If they are foolish, need you therefore let yourself be provoked into the folly of killing them?' The assonance of ἀμαρτῇ...ἀμαρτάνειν is in the poet's manner, and on the other hand ἀμαρτάνειν might easily drop off as a supposed double reading.—ἀμαρτεῖν τὸν (Casaubon for ἀμαρτήτου) is highly improbable.

1665. Aegisthus is with difficulty restrained from putting the elders to death, and they are led away, answering with defiant taunts his threats of executing his purpose another time.

1669. τὴν δίκην *doing outrage to the rightful cause*, that of Orestes: not *justice*; see on v. 1607.

1670. τῆσδε μωρίας χάριν a periphrasis for τῆσδε μωρίας, but not quite synonymous with it. It has an ironical force, as in English we might say, 'I will *thank* you another time for these insults'.

1671. ὥστε Scaliger.

1672. προτιμήσῃς ὑλαγμάτων: for the loose construction, imitating that of φροντίζειν, is cited Eur. *Alc.* 761.

ἰβ. ἐγὼ, φησί, καὶ σὺ κρατοῦντες τῶνδε τῶν δωμάτων διαθροσόμεθα τὰ καθ' αὐτοὺς καλῶς schol., whence the words ἐγὼ and καλῶς are supplied in the text (Canter, Auratus).

APPENDIX I.

A.

v. 2.

κοιμώμενος
στέγαις Ἀτρειδῶν ἄγκαθεν, κυνὸς δίκην.

Two interpretations have been suggested: (1), reading *στέγης* and taking ἄγκαθεν for ἀνέκαθεν, *sleeping above (on?) the roof*. A gloss in Hesychius shows that this interpretation is ancient. But ἄγκαθεν is not a legitimate contraction for ἀνέκαθεν, nor does ἀνέκαθεν mean *on*, but *above* or *from above*. This therefore is generally abandoned.

(2), *couched on the roof, resting dog-like upon my arm* (Hermann). This is provisionally accepted but is not really defensible: for (a) the use of the dative cannot be justified. There is nothing in *κοιμώμενος* to determine the dative (which in itself signifies merely relation of some kind) to the meaning *on*: *κοιμώμενος στέγαις*, if the dative were taken as quasi-local, would mean *sleeping in the house*, as *στέγαις δέχεσθαι* (Eur. Or. 46) means *to receive in the house, under (not on) the roof*, and *σφύζεσθαι στέγαις* (Eur. Hec. 1014) *to be kept in the house*. (b) ἄγκαθεν does not mean *on the arm* but *in the arms*: ἀγκά-ς, ἄγκα-θεν, ἀγκά-λη etc. are always used of the *inside* of the bent arm, and to describe the act of embracing (see Aesch. Eum. 80). Hermann, to forestall this objection, points out that ἀγκώ-ν means both the hollow and the angle of the arm. But if the difference of stem is immaterial, how is it that we have abundant instances for the double meaning in one case, while all the numerous examples are uniform in the other? Moreover here *κοιμώμενος* itself suggests that ἄγκαθεν has its proper sense: *κοιμᾶσθαι γυναικὶ ἄγκαθεν*, or *βρέφος μητρὶ ἄγκαθεν κεκοίμητο* would be natural and regular expressions in the language of poetry for *the babe was sleeping in its mother's arms, etc.*, the datives being common datives of relation. (c) A man could hardly describe himself as having lain in a certain posture *for a year*.

The words *κοιμώμενος στέγαις ἄγκαθεν* can, I believe, mean nothing but *κοιμώμενος στεγῶν ἐν ἀγκάλαις lulled in the embrace of the roof*. Is this a conceivable expression? For this speaker and in this situation I think it is. In the *Prometheus* (1049) Hermes says to the hero

φάραγγα βροντῇ καὶ κεραυνία φλογὶ
πατὴρ σπαράξει τήνδε, καὶ κρίψει δέμας
τὸ σόν, πετραία δ' ἀγκάλη σε βαστάσει,

comparing the sufferer ironically to a child carried softly in the arms. If the sentinel were represented lying in an angle of sloping roofs (and no position would be more natural) he might well describe himself, with an irony like that of Hermes but differing as the persons differ, as 'cradled in the roof's embrace'. The metaphor is not more strong than *κυμάτων ἐν ἀγκάλαις* cited from some poet (probably Aeschylus) by Aristophanes (*Ran.* 704). The words *κυνὸς δίκην* do not affect the question. There is no need to join them specially with *κοιμώμενος*... ἄγκαθεν; and they mean no more than that he is made to sleep, like a watch-dog, in the open air.

B.

vv. 49—51. *τρόπον αἰγυπιῶν θῖτ' ἐκπατίοις*
ἄλγεσι παίδων, ὕπατοι λεχέων,
στροφοδοινοῦνται κτλ.

Like vultures, who, vexed by boys in the supreme solitudes where they nest, wheel round and round, etc.

All the commentaries on this passage start from the assumption that *παίδων* means the 'children', that is, the 'young' of the birds. I think this impossible: *παῖς* does not mean 'offspring' but 'a young human being' and is never, I believe, applied by writers whose usage is of any authority to the offspring of animals. The word meaning 'offspring', and as such common to men and beasts, is *τέκνον* (see Aesch. *Theb.* 278 etc.), and the distinction is supported by hundreds of examples from every kind of poetry. The apparent exceptions either prove nothing to the point or prove the strength of the rule.

L. and Sc. cite only Aesch. *Pers.* 580, where fish are called *ἄνανδοι παῖδες τᾶς ἀμιάντου* 'dumb children of the unstained (sea)', which of course proves nothing. The nightingale is *παιδολέτωρ* (*Rhes.* 549), because she is *Philomela*, mourning for her son: Medea (*Eur. Med.* 1407) is *παιδοφόνος* *λέαινα*. These are for the rule. In *Eur. Ion* 175

the birds are commanded *μὴ παιδουργεῖν* in the temple, an expression proper to the human relation being borrowed for decency and to avoid a coarser term. How decisively human, to the ear of Aeschylus, was the word *παῖς* is shown by *Ag.* 722, where the lion-whelp is *εὐφιλόπαις*: the epithet would be unintelligible, if there could be any doubt that *παῖς* means a human being. Nor is there anything in the present passage to put upon the word an exceptional meaning; on the contrary, the purpose of the simile naturally requires the mention of the offenders as well as the offended. The words *πόνον ὀρταλίων ὀλέσαντες*, which have suggested the false rendering, come too late to affect the hearer's interpretation of *παίδων* one way or another, even if there were reason to think that the supposed use would have seemed to Aeschylus permissible at all. We must take then *παίδων* in its proper sense for the *boys*, who rob the nest, answering to the *ἀγρόται*, not to the *τέκνα*, of the Homeric simile which Aeschylus is imitating (cited by Bochart, Hermann etc.) *κλαῖον τε λιγέως ἀδινώτερον ἢ τ' οἰωνοί, φῆναι ἢ αἰγυπιοὶ γαμψώνυχες, οἷσί τε τέκνα ἀγρόται ἐξείλοντο, πάρος πετεηνὰ γενέσθαι* (*Od.* 16. 216). The genitive will then be that of the subject or origin, and *ἄλγεσι παίδων* will be literally 'in grief from boys'.

For *ἐκπάτιος* the old interpretation of Hesychius, *ἐκπάτιον· τὸ ἕξω πάτου*, 'that which is solitary, away from the haunts of man', is correct. The word *πάτος* *tread* seems to have gone out of use in its primary sense as early as Homer, who has it several times in the same restricted meaning *haunt of man*, as opposed to solitary places, such as hills and deserts. Thus Poseidon (*Il.* 20. 137) invites the gods to retire *ἐκ πάτου ἐς σκοπὴν*, and Bellerophon wanders in the Aleian plain, *ὃν θυμὸν κατέδων, πάτον ἀνθρώπων ἀλεείνων*. Here the word applies properly to the birds themselves, but is transferred to their feelings (*ἄλγη*) by a usage in which Greek poetry is peculiarly bold. The present case is little if at all more different from our habit of language than e.g. *Soph. Ant.* 794 *νεῖκος ἀνδρῶν ξύναιμον*, for 'a strife between kinsmen'. The epithet is exactly to the point; it is an aggravation of the complaint that the robbers are also invaders.

So far I do not find any difficulty. But there remains a real difficulty in *ὑπατοι λεχέων*, commonly rendered 'high above their nest'. Mr Housman (*J. Ph.* xvi. 247) raps this fancy (which of course I had always accepted) with not more smartness than truth. "The learner of Greek, in quest of probable or even plausible reasons for believing that *ὑπατοι λεχέων* *summi cubilium* means *ὑπὲρ λεχέων* *super cubilia*, is dismissed to these references 'ἐσχάτη χθονός *Prom.* 865, ὑστάτου νεώς *Suppl.* 697, ὑπατος χώρας *Ζεύς Ag.* 492'. The first two of these

passages πόλις ἐσχάτη χθονός and οἶακος ὑστάτου νεώς prove to him what he could well believe without proof, that such a phrase as θριγκὸς ὑπατος τείχους *a coping which is the highest part of a wall* is Greek ; but since vultures on the wing are not the highest part of their eyries the information does not help him. Had he been referred, say, to a passage where a fish following a ship is called ὑστατος νεώς, then he would have been helped ; but Greek literature contains no such passage : such a fish is ὑστερος νεώς". The third reference, meaning properly 'Zeus highest *in* the land' and therefore 'supreme over' it, makes for the same argument. I think it unanswerable and conclude that if ὑπατοι λεχέων be taken with στροφοδινοῦνται it is unintelligible. Mr Housman concludes that it is altogether unintelligible ; but this I do not yet accept.

If ὑπατοι λεχέων is correct, the genitive must, as Mr Housman says, be of the partitive kind. But why not? No one would demur to Ὠρώπιοι ναίουσιν (or εἰσὶν) ἔσχατοι τῆς Βοιωτίας, or to a description of the Athena of the Acropolis as ἡ ὑπάτη οὔσα ἱερῶν *she whose sanctuary is highest*, literally *she who is highest among sanctuaries*, the name of the people or the goddess standing for the place of abode. On such analogy, I submit, is formed ὑπατοι λεχέων, literally *highest of nests* (not *of their nests*), for *nesting highest* of all birds. And observe, that this again reinforces the point marked by ἐκπατίοις, that the injured parents are invaded in their own solitudes. A prose writer, if in prose such an expression could have been used at all, would have written ὑπατοι ὄντες λεχέων : but it is equally certain that Aeschylus would not insert the participle ; his style abounds in these participial adjectives (*e.g.* *Ag.* 58).

I should translate then literally, 'who, in grief among-the-solitudes inflicted-by-boys, being-highest-nested, wheel round and round with stroke of their wings' etc., to which the paraphrase above given comes as near as our language permits.

C.

υυ. 125—129. κεδνὸς δὲ στρατόμαντις ἰδὼν δύο λήμασι δισσοῦς
 Ἀτρεΐδας μαχίμους ἐδάη λαγοδαΐτας
 πομπούς τ' ἀρχάς.

From the difference (δισσοῦς) which Calchas saw between the royal brothers, he perceived that they were typified by the two different

eagles, and that the appearance was ominous. The writer of *λήμασι* conceived the difference to lie in the *temper*s of the princes, Agamemnon being conspicuously brave, Menelaus *μαλθακὸς αἰχμητῆς* (*Il.* 17, 588, cited by Plato *Symp.* 174 c). The eagle with white feathers in the tail and wings was commonly called *πύγαργος* (Schol. on *v.* 1117 ὁ ἐξοπίσω λευκός, ὃ ἐστὶν ὁ πύγαργος), and the word, whether because this species though larger than others was not so strong or for other reasons, was applied to *cowards*: *πύγαργος εἶδος αἰετοῦ*. Σοφοκλῆς ἐπὶ τοῦ δειλοῦ. ἀπὸ τῆς λευκῆς πυγῆς (*Soph. fr.* 962 A). Cf. the proverb 'showing the white feather', and see L. and Sc. *s.v.* *πύγαργος*.

Such is the ancient and traditional explanation, but it is far from satisfactory. For *first* Menelaus was not a coward or unwarlike. He is *βοῶν ἀγαθός* and his prowess is frequently celebrated. Plato, who requires for the sake of a jest to suppose him unwarlike, makes the most of a single expression divorced from the context, which shows it to be a mere insinuation made for the purpose of the moment. In this very passage of Aeschylus the epithet *μαχίμους* seems to be inserted to prevent any misconception. *Secondly* if the fact were so, it would be strange that Calchas should imply such an ignominy in the presence of Menelaus and his army. *Thirdly* *ιδών* points to *visible* difference. *Fourthly* part of the present symbol, or at least something closely resembling it, is found in Sophocles (*Ant.* 114) with an explanation. There 'the eagle with snow-white wings' stands for the *Argives* (in the narrower sense, the people of *Argos*) distinguished by their white shields. Note also that in the passage before us not only does the word *πύγαργος* not occur, but there is nothing definitely referring to the tail at all. The words are 'white-marked at the back'.

Putting this together, we may well believe that the difference which Calchas 'saw' was not in the characters of the brothers, but in *the shields slung upon their backs*, and consequently that *λήμασι* is a false correction of some word unknown. These considerations or some of them led Haupt to propose *λέμματα* and Pleitner *σήματα*. But no known or credible meaning of *λέμμα* will fit, and it is not the *emblems* (*σήματα*) of the shields to which we are directed by the passage in Sophocles, but their colours. Certainty in such a matter is impossible, but a word which would fit all the conditions is the derivative, whatever it should be, not of *λα-* but of *λιφ-* to *paint*—*λίμμα*, *ἄλιμμα*, *λεῖμμα* or *ἄλειμμα*. That this stem (like the Latin *lin-ere*) originally had this sense is shown by the use of *ἀλείφειν* (*μίλτω*, *ψιμυθίω* etc., see L. and Sc. *s.v.*): *λίμμασι δισσοῦς* *different in their tincts* gives the sense we should seek. Critically it is little less probable than *λήμασι* itself. The type

of misspelling is common (see *e.g.* *Ag.* 867) and nowhere more likely to occur than in a technical term of ancient 'heraldry'.

D.

υψ. 146—149. τόσσων περ εὐφρων, καλά,
δρόσοισιν ἀέπτοις μαλερῶν ἐόντων
πάντων τ' ἀγρονόμων φιλομάστοις
θηρῶν ὀβρίκαλοισι τερπνά, κτλ.

Kind as thou art, fair goddess, to the uncouth offspring of the many creatures fierce, as well as sweet unto the suckling young of all kinds that range the field, etc.—μαλερῶν ἐόντων (θηρῶν) literally 'of fierce creatures, though they are fierce'. For the use of the form ἐόν in the lyrics of tragedy cf. Eur. *Andr.* 124 ἀμφὶ λέκτρων διδύμων ἐπίκουον ἐοῦσαν. The reference to *fierce* animals is, strictly speaking, irrelevant, as the sympathy of the goddess had been evoked, in the case of which Calchas is speaking, by *hares*. But the suggestion, that her universal love (note the emphatic τόσσων, πάντων) extends to the savage kinds as well as the rest, is very much to his present purpose, which is to persuade her not to involve in the punishment of the Atridae the hapless Iphigenia, and to propitiate her on behalf of the 'house of the eagles'.

I have ventured to write ἐόντων for ὄντων (M), and not λεόντων, in spite of the testimony that λεόντων was actually an ancient reading. The objection to λεόντων is mainly critical.

In the first place λεόντων is of course inconsistent with τόσσων and requires us to assume that some one, without any motive, wrote τόσσων for τόσσον. But further if the original reading was δρόσοισιν ἀέπτοις μαλερῶν λεόντων, it is impossible to account for the present reading of M, δρόσοισιν ἀέλπτοις μαλερῶν ὄντων, descended, as the scholium shows, from a ms. which had ἀέπτοις. No editor would invent, except upon some supposed evidence, a reading so absurd as δρόσοισιν ἀέλπτοις: and none would be likely to mistake a word so common as λεόντων. On the other hand, if ἐόντων was the original, the history is simple. To the line as it originally stood were appended two marginal notes, ὄντων and λείπει τὸ λ, the first explaining ἐόντων, the second on the contrary proposing the correction of it given by the Etym. Mag., λεόντων. The two notes indicated in fact the two ancient opinions about the reading. The scribe of M, or some preceding scribe, took the gloss ὄντων as a correction into the text: as the note λείπει τὸ λ had so lost its application, he or some other put the λ into the wrong

word, thus manufacturing ἀέλπτοις. The existence of the reading λεόντων is perfectly well accounted for as a mere slip of memory. The quotations of the ancients are even more inaccurate than those of the present day; nothing would be more likely than that a writer who was concerned only with the use of δρόσος should be misled by μαλερῶν into the false quotation of the etymologist.

It may be added that *lions* have nothing to do with the matter, either directly or indirectly.

E.

vv. 183—185. Ζῆνα δέ τις προφρόνως ἐπινίκια κλάζων
τεύξεται φρενῶν τοπάν.

MS. κλάζων...τὸ πᾶν.

Scholia. 184 ἐπὶ ἐλπιδὶ νίκης. 185 ὀλοσχερῶς φρόνιμος ἔσται.

The general meaning here is clear, 'trust in Zeus will not be misplaced, his strength is invincible'. Upon the words three questions arise:—(1) as to the sense of προφρόνως, (2) as to the reading κλάζων, (3) as to the reading τὸ πᾶν. It will be convenient to take (3) first.

In a paper in the *Journal of Philology*, Vol. ix., it was pointed out that the existence and use of the words τοπάζω, ὑποτοπέω, ἄτοπος and others, warranted, under the general laws of Greek formation, the assumption that there also existed the corresponding words τοπή (or τοπά) and τόπος a conjecture, guess, and τοπάω to guess, a parallel form to τοπάζω: that these words are very liable to be confused with others: and that they should be borne in mind in interpreting our mss., especially those of the tragedians. These positions, in their general and *a priori* bearing, have not, so far as I know, been disputed; and are approved by (among others) Mr A. Sidgwick¹. In the paper mentioned were collected the passages which seemed to require consideration from this point of view, among them vv. 185, 687, 982 of this play, each exhibiting the ambiguous letters τοπαν. Mr Sidgwick prefers τὸ πᾶν in each and, as will be seen from my text, I agree with him as to the two last, though as to v. 687 with much hesitation. In the present passage I believe that τὸ πᾶν cannot be construed, and that τοπάν is right. Mr Sidgwick (with modern editors generally) accepts the explanation of the scholia, and translates 'shall find wisdom altogether'. But the sense put upon τεύξεται φρενῶν cannot be got from the words. Φρένες (or φρήν) does not mean 'wisdom', it means *a*

¹ See his edition of the *Agamemnon*, App. II. 'The *a priori* probability' etc.

mind: φρένας ἔχειν is not 'to be wise' but *to have a consciousness or be conscious*, as in the address of Philoctetes to his bow (Soph. *Phil.* 1130) ἧ που ἐλεινὸν ὄρας, φρένας εἴ τινας ἔχεις, κτλ.: φρενῶν ἐπήβολος is a synonym not of σοφός but of ἔνους and means *possessed of his intellect*, marking the difference between the man and the infant (*P. V.* 460): φρενῶν κενός (Soph. *Ant.* 754), ἀποσφαλεῖς (Aesch. *P. V.* 488), ἀμαρτάνει (Eur. *Alc.* 327), are all, as the context will show, very strong expressions, importing the absence or loss not of *wisdom* but of sense or the faculty of thought. The exact expression τυγχάνειν φρενῶν I cannot find, and am not surprised, for in its proper sense it would require a very peculiar context to justify it: the nearest approach is Soph. *El.* 992, εἰ φρενῶν | ἐτύχαν' αὐτὴ μὴ κακῶν, ἐσώζετ' ἄν | τὴν εὐλάβειαν, *had she been blessed with a mind not mischievous*, where the qualification μὴ κακῶν would be needless and injurious, if τυγχάνειν φρενῶν could bear the meaning assumed for the present passage. Abundant evidence, positive and negative, goes to show that τεύξεται φρενῶν τὸ πᾶν could mean only 'will find wits' or 'will be blessed with a mind altogether', and therefore for the present purpose has not a meaning at all. On the other hand τεύξεται φρενῶν τοπᾶν *will be right in the guess of his thought* is simple, and has a special fitness here from its correlation with the preceding passage (προσεικάσαι *v.* 173) and, as will be immediately shown, with the words προφρόνως ἐπινίκια.

Next as to προφρόνως:—πρόφρων, literally 'forward-minded' or 'fore-minded', means elsewhere *willing* or *zealous*. But ancient tradition was right in saying that here the poet has used προφρόνως so as to suggest the meaning (equally admitted by the form of the word) *forecasting, prophetically, by anticipation*. That this was the ancient tradition is shown by the note in the scholia 'in expectation of his victory', which has nothing to go upon except προφρόνως thus interpreted. The difference is very small, in substance indeed none at all, but the purpose of the poet is clearly indicated by the antithesis of *fore* and *after* in προφρόνως-ἐπινίκια (properly 'such as follow a victory'), and by the correspondence between προφρόνως and φρενὸς τοπᾶν. Such development of latent capacity in a word is the very essence of poetical expression, and here saves the word προφρόνως from being flat and superfluous. The very point of the whole passage and of this sentence is that Zeus' power is supreme and his triumphs therefore certain beforehand. The certainty of an event cannot be put more strongly than by saying, that 'he who guesses it will be so will be right'. Whether πρόφρων was often used by the poets in this sense, we are not in a position to say, nor is it material. The prevalence of another

sense is no argument to the contrary, as may be seen from innumerable other compounds, e.g. πρόδικος, πρόγονος, προεῖδον, προεῖπον, προγίγνομαι, προδίδωμι, all of which have various meanings.

Lastly as to the reading κλάζων ἐπινίκια *singing songs of victory* or κλάζων (the quasi-Doric equivalent for κληίζων) ἐπινίκια *giving titles of victory*. The ms. offers the choice, for the presence or absence of the *iota subscript* is nothing. My reasons for preferring κλάζων are (1) that the name of Zeus is the topic of the passage (v. 170) and the significance of that name has already been hinted (see v. 175 and the reference given above); (2) that κλάζω, which applies properly to harsh discordant sounds, such as the screaming of birds (v. 48), always, even in its looser applications, signifies the quality or tone of the sound, as deep or harsh or repellent or terrible or the like (see vv. 165, 211), whereas here no such suggestion can be intended. The only apparent cases I can find to support the view that κλάζων could mean merely *to sing* are Soph. *Trach.* 206, and Eur. *Ion* 905. But in the first there is an antithesis between the treble voices of women and ἀρσένων κλαγγά the *masculine bass*; and in the second the terms κιθάρα κλάζεις, addressed to Apollo, are purposely offensive (see the context) and suggest a comparison between the 'song' of the cruel god and the 'screams' of a bird of prey.

F.

vv. 286—7. XO. πότερα δ' ὀνείρων φάσματ' ἐνπιθῇ σέβεις;

KΛ. οὐδ' ὄψαν' ἂν λάβοιμι βριζούσης φρενός.

οὐ δόξαν M. οὐδ' ὄψαν' Wecklein. I have accepted, provisionally at least, his suggestion, agreeing with him that the text is faulty.

Dr Wecklein explains his reading thus: "οὐδ' ἂν λάβοιμι, das ist, 'ich verwahre mich dagegen, dass ich hinnehme (καὶ χαίρειν κελεύω)'. Vgl. *Eum.* 228 οὐδ' ἂν δεχοίμην ὥστ' ἔχειν τιμὰς σέθεν, Soph. *Ant.* 730 ΚΡ. ἔργον γὰρ ἐστι τοὺς ἀκοσμοῦντας σέβειν; AIM. οὐδ' ἂν κελεύσαιμι εὖσεβεῖν εἰς τοὺς κακοὺς". In these passages 'I would not so much as' stands for 'I would not care to', and so Dr Wecklein takes οὐδ' ἂν...λάβοιμι here.

So far however I cannot follow him. This would require, as Dr Wecklein himself shows by his citations and his lemma, the order οὐδ' ἂν λάβοιμι ὄψανα.

If οὐδ' ὄψαν' ἂν λάβοιμι is right, the translation is *I would not accept even the ὄψανα of a sleepy mind*, and we must distinguish ὄψανα, as something more valid or convincing, from ὀνείρων φάσματα. Such a

distinction is not improbable or inexplicable. The word ὄψανον seems to occur only once, in the description of Clytaemnestra's dream, that she suckled a snake (Orestes) which drew blood from the teat (*Cho.* 53²).

XO. αὐτὴ προσέσχε μαστὸν ἐν τῶνείρατι.

OP. καὶ πῶς ἄτρωτον οὖθαρ ἦν ὑπὸ στύγους;

XO. ὥστ' ἐν γάλακτι θρόμβον αἵματος σπάσαι.

OP. οὗτοι μάταιον ἂν τόδ' ὄψανον πέλοι¹.

XO. ἦ δ' ἐξ ὕπνου κέκλαγγεν ἐπτοημένη.

'She herself gave it the breast'. 'Then the teat must have been wounded?' 'Yes, it even drew blood with the milk'. 'This ὄψανον cannot be insignificant'. 'And she woke with a cry'. It will be noticed here that it is to the ὄψανον that Orestes attaches particular weight. Taking this with Dr Wecklein's proposal here, I would suggest that, according to the true meaning of the passage in the *Choephori*, the teat was actually flecked with blood, as the sleeper found upon waking, and that ὄψανον (ὄψεσθαι) properly meant, in the language of divination, a dream *visibly confirmed*, or the *visible confirmation* of a dream. It need hardly be said that those who 'believe in dreams' will vouch for many such proofs of their reality. This interpretation further brings out the force of βριζούσης, which, as distinguished from εὐδούσης, means not 'sleeping' but 'nodding, sleepy'. The ὄψανον, in the sense supposed, would of course be perceived or imagined by a mind not asleep but, as Clytaemnestra contemptuously says, 'half-asleep'. 'I would not accept', she says, 'dream-proof in what they call its strongest form', and therefore *a fortiori* nothing less. Her robust scepticism here offers an effective contrast to her guilty terror in the following play.

The ms. reading is commonly rendered 'I would not accept the fancy of a sleeping mind'. But δόξαν is emphatic by position (Paley), and with this emphasis the sentence implies that she might accept something from a sleeping mind, but not a δόξα: which I do not understand. In fact this explanation also requires the order οὐκ ἂν λάβοιμι δόξαν.

The origin of the ms. reading is easily explained by the rarity of the word and the false division οὐ δόξαν.

¹ I have taken provisionally the conjecture of Martin (ἂν τόδ' for ἀνδρός) given by Wecklein. To discuss it here would

lead us off the subject. The sense of the verse is, for our present purpose, beyond question.

G.

v. 313.

πλέον καίουσα τῶν εἰρημένων.

Weil's translation here is certainly right. The alternative 'raising a fire larger than those before mentioned' is not only prosaic but pointless and even absurd. The beacon on Cithaeron, which has the smallest distance of all to light, cannot be meant to be represented as larger than that of Athos, which was to 'pass the wide main'. But that it might be 'greater than was commanded' is natural enough.

It may be thought, and it seems to me very probable, that there is a particular intention in this compliment paid to the enthusiasm shown upon the occasion of the triumph of Hellas over Asia by 'the watchers upon Cithaeron'. On the north slope of Cithaeron, the side to which the message came, lay the little town of Plataea, the whole of whose fighting force, unsolicited and alone, came over the mountain to join the Athenian army just before the battle of Marathon, while all the other Greek cities delayed and made excuses. This service, which produced the deepest impression upon the Athenians and was constantly commemorated in their public prayers, cannot, I think, have been forgotten by the writer or any Athenian hearer of these lines. For the facts and an eloquent commentary upon them see Grote, Part II., Chap. 36. From this point of view the text is much more than defensible, and the alternative reading to be next mentioned derives no support from any difficulty in the ms.

προσαιθρίζουσα πόμπιμον φλόγα: *raising to the skies a missive flame.* These words are cited, without name of author, by Hesychius. It was proposed by Dindorf to place them here after φρουρά, and though not so pointed and apposite as the ms. reading, they fit the place with an exactness surprising if accidental. On the whole it seems most probable that the quotation of Hesychius really is a very ancient reading of this passage, and it is quite possible that both readings descend from the poet himself.

H.

v. 326.

νικᾷ δ' ὁ πρῶτος καὶ τελευταῖος δραμών.

But the winner is he who ran first and last. The difficulty found in this verse is attested by a great variety of interpretations, of which a terse summary is given by Mr Sidgwick. On the one hand the natural

meaning of the words is perfectly clear, as given above. If the line were presented alone, no one would hesitate to render it so, or think of any other rendering as possible. On the other hand it is equally clear that so interpreted the remark is not properly applicable either to the chain of beacon-couriers or to the chain of λαμπαδηφόροι. There is no 'runner who runs first and last'; the very point is that they run *successively*. To a race between single runners the formula might certainly apply in one single case, in the case, that is, of what we call a 'walk-over'; and it is likely enough, as has been suggested to me by Mr E. S. Thompson, that for this case the formula, as a sort of jesting proverb, was in popular use. But for a race between chains of runners even this sense would not hold, and we must still ask why the phrase should be thus mis-applied.

To avoid this are proposed these interpretations: (1) 'the victory is won by the first and last runners' *i.e.* by the runners from first to last, by the whole chain; and (2) 'the victory is won by the first runner, who is also the last' or 'although he is the last', *i.e.* by the runner who comes in sooner than the final runner of any other chain (and is in this sense *first*) though he is *last to run* in his own chain. Under these two heads all the views may be reduced.

Now without saying that either of these is impossible, it may be said, and will hardly be denied, that both are highly artificial. And taking either, there remains the question, What is the point of the remark in this place? Why should Clytaemnestra insist upon the fact, that all the beacons contributed to the success of her design? Or that the winning runner in a λαμπαδηφορία might in a somewhat fanciful sense be called 'the first runner and last'?

It is, I submit, no small confirmation of the view here taken as to the foregoing narrative, that it will solve this difficulty at once. The verse appears enigmatic because it is and is meant to be so. It is intelligible to those only who know the truth, to Clytaemnestra, to those in her confidence, and to the audience acquainted with the story. To these it means simply what it says, that in this λαμπαδηφορία of beacons 'the victory is won', *i.e.* the queen's design is accomplished, 'by the runner who ran first and last', or, in other words, by the only one who 'ran' at all, the beacon upon Arachnaeus. To the audience only it is in effect addressed. The elders, if they had leisure to consider the matter, might explain it in any of the ways suggested by the modern editors: but in such a moment as this an obscure phrase would of course not attract their attention at all, and the queen might enjoy her sarcasm with impunity.

I.

υν. 357—359. θεοῖς δ' ἀναμπλάκητος εἰ μόλοι στρατός,
 ἐγρηγορὸς τὸ πῆμα τῶν ὀλωλότων
 γένοιτ' ἄν, εἰ πρόσπαια μὴ τύχοι κακά.

As will be seen from the notes, the difficulty of this passage has arisen, in my judgment, entirely from wrong punctuation. With the common punctuation (as above) it is given up by the majority, who propose emendations. Those who retain it, as for example Mr Sidgwick, interpret it thus: "But if the army returned without such offence to the gods, the woe of the dead might yet wake, if sudden ills did not befall'. The second 'if' is a repetition of the first in other words... 'if they kept free of such offence (and accordingly) if no... sudden judgment befell'." The sense of this is, I conceive, right, and the supposed accumulation of parallel hypothetic clauses is not in itself impossible. But where, as here, the clauses are separated, the effect is, and is admitted to be, to produce very great obscurity. And there are other objections. It does not appear why the judgments of the gods should be distinguished from the Nemesis of the dead as necessarily 'sudden'. Surely either danger might fall at once or fall later. And further, with this punctuation the words γένοιτ' ἄν are, if not superfluous, wholly without emphasis. But according to their place in the sentence and in the verse they ought to be emphatic; and the result is feebleness. I do not however think this punctuation and explanation impossible, but only that it makes difficulty without cause.

Of the emendations, the majority have for object to get rid of the negative in ἀναμπλάκητος, the earliest being apparently Canter's θεοῖς δ' οὐκ ἀναμπλάκητος, the simplest that of Pauw θεοῖς δ' ἂν ἀμπλάκητος (a word however not unimpeachable), and the best ἐναμπλάκητος (adopted by Dindorf). The sense would then be, 'if the army return having offended the gods, the woe of the dead may wake, if no sudden mischief should occur'. But this, if somewhat less obscure, is still unsatisfactory. The last clause still comes too late, as an awkward afterthought, and its relation to the whole is still difficult to perceive. And fresh difficulty is even introduced, for the emphasis on θεοῖς, necessary according to the first view (and my own), is no longer necessary or proper when there is no antithesis between 'the gods' and 'the dead'.

Dr Wecklein, following H. L. Ahrens, by transposition and correction produces this,

θεοῖς δ' ἀναμπλάκητος εἰ μόλοι στρατός,
κάμψαι διαύλου θάτερον κῶλον πάλιν
γένοιτ' ἄν, εἰ πρόσπαια μὴ τεύχοι κακὰ
ἐγρηγορὸς τὸ πῆμα τῶν ὀλωλότων.

This though not faultless (κάμψαι...γένοιτ' ἄν is not an elegant construction) might pass in itself; but the changes are very bold and, as I think, unjustifiable.

J.

v. 363. XO. β'. γύναι, κατ' ἄνδρα σῶφρον' εὐφρόνως λέγεις.
ἐγὼ δ' ἀκούσας πιστά σου τεκμήρια
θεοὺς προσειπεῖν εὔ παρασκευάζομαι· κτλ.

Here for the first time a question presents itself, which will occur several times hereafter in the play. What is the character of the speaker?

It is commonly assumed that every speaker, who is not one of the principal actors, is one of the elders, by whom are sung the great odes of the play. In the foregoing Introduction (§ 3) I have tried to show that there is no *a priori* ground for assuming this. It is plain from the plays themselves, that in Greek drama there were often on the stage together, besides the principal actors, subordinate persons of various descriptions. It is *a priori* not probable, that all speaking should be confined, against manifest convenience, to one sort of persons. And in fact the assumption that there is only one chorus and only one class of χορευταί makes in the *Agamemnon* great and hopeless difficulties.

Here we have two speeches, neither of which can be assigned to any of the principal actors, separated by a speech from Clytaemnestra (vv. 329—366). The attitude of the two speakers towards the subject before them is not merely different but diametrically opposed. The first speaker (v. 329) treats the queen's proffered 'proof' of the Greek victory with a reserve which is barely saved from discourtesy. He distinctly declines to act upon it at once, and requests that the amazing story may be repeated again 'in full detail'. His behaviour is in fact only distinguished from the open incredulity of the speakers at the close of the following ode (v. 481) by such a decent disguise as the queen's presence necessarily commands.

On the other hand the second speaker, he of the lines now before us, is entirely satisfied with the queen and her statement. Contradicting the other almost in his own terms, he says that after the sure proofs which he has heard 'he for his part' (note ἐγώ) 'will thank the gods for the victory', which is exactly what the first declines to do, till he has heard something more.

Now if these two speakers are the same person (or persons in like situation) what explains this change of mind? What has Clytaemnestra said to satisfy his curiosity and remove his hesitation? He asked for a repetition, with details, of the statement about the beacons. The queen has not taken the least notice of his request. Her reflexions may or may not be very laudable and wise, but what have they to do with the 'evidence' of the victory?

I am by no means the first to notice these difficulties, though they are commonly raised only to be thrust aside again. Thus on *v.* 331 Dr Wecklein says, that the speaker 'desires a repetition, a wish which Clytaemnestra satisfies to this extent, that she gives in *v.* 332, *Τροίαν Ἀχαιοὶ τῇδ' ἔχουσ'* ἐν ἡμέρᾳ, the substance of the beacon-message, and appends to it reflexions' etc. If the speaker is content with this measure of satisfaction, he might surely have spared the queen the doubtful compliment of his request. The question which Clytaemnestra has professed to answer in the foregoing description of the beacons is the question of *v.* 292, 'What messenger could possibly come so quick?' Here is the 'amazing' circumstance which provokes further enquiry. And the queen satisfies this enquiry by stating that the victory is this day won?

It would be hard, I think, for two speeches to offer stronger internal evidence that they do not proceed from the same lips, than is contained in the two before us. We shall not look far for external confirmation.

It is plain that the second speaker, whoever he is, is also the singer, or one of the singers, of the hymn in anapaestic march-time which immediately follows. He proposes to praise the gods for the victory, and he does so accordingly. But are these the singers of the following strophic ode? If so, what is the meaning of the first line of the ode (*v.* 379)?

Διὸς πλαγὰν ἔχουσ' ἀνειπεῖν.

'Tis a stroke of Zeus which they are able to proclaim. The ms. (f) has ἔχουσαν εἰπεῖν with the word ἔχουσαν corrected to ἔχουσ'. It is palpable that ἔχουσ' ἀνειπεῖν is the tradition thus represented. The suggested emendations ἔχεις ἀνειπεῖν (Schmidt), ἔχους ἂν εἰπεῖν (Karsten),

ἔχουσιν εἰπεῖν (*Cod. Farn. i.e. Triclinius*), and the forced explanation of this last, Διὸς πλαγὰν ἔχουσιν εἰπεῖν, by 'they (the Trojans) have the blow of Zeus to tell of'—all these are but mutually contradictory testimonies to the impossibility, upon the current assumption as to the course of the preceding scene, of reading and translating the verse in the obvious way.

But give up the attempt to assign all the speaking and singing to the same persons, and there is no difficulty at all. The queen comes naturally not unattended; and from the course of the play both before and afterwards it is evident (as was shown in the *Introduction*) that by this time there have gathered about her many of those who are in her secret. It is they who here interfere to rescue her from an embarrassing and dangerous situation. She has partly missed her effect. Those who are to be deceived have found her story more wonderful than convincing. They believe her to be the victim of a delusion (*v.* 489) and have shown a desire to press enquiries impossible to satisfy and perilous to elude. Her accomplices take up the cue and, to cover her escape, play the required part of plain citizens, who feel none of these doubts. They admire her wisdom and good feeling. They think her evidence certain. They will offer thanks to heaven accordingly. While they perform this impious mockery, driven like other liars farther than they meant, the queen retires, and the elders are left to act as they may.

They act precisely as might be expected, so as, if possible, not to commit themselves in any event. To the victory which the others 'can proclaim', they refer in brief, vague, and carefully guarded terms (*vv.* 379—381). Then glancing off into generalities they pursue the reflexions with which they are themselves pre-occupied, the miserable cause for which the war has been waged, the sufferings which it has caused, and the menacing discontents which are the result of those sufferings.

It then occurs to them (*v.* 481) that the news of the victory, unproved as it is, must be spreading; and in the vexation of this thought their disbelief breaks out openly, whereupon (see *v.* 591) this new turn is reported within by their observant enemies. What they might have done next we do not discover, for at this moment the herald appears and the situation is completely changed.

As to *MS.* authority on the distribution of these speeches, there is none. The *MS.* (following doubtless *M* itself) assigns *vv.* 363—366 to a certain ἄγγελος, first introduced in *M* as the speaker of *vv.* 270—275. The modern editors have properly dismissed this personage to limbo. Everywhere in Aeschylus the distribution of speeches is a matter of

discretion. The *Mediceus* frequently gives no more than a mark indicating without further specification that the speaker is changed. The fact is that the company commonly assigned to the *Agamemnon* does not provide characters enough for this scene and others. The designation XO. for *v.* 363 is correct, though not complete. As it will be convenient to mark the different types of *χορευταί*, I have marked the accomplices of Clytaemnestra (who here not only speak but sing, like the sub-chorus of young men in Euripides' *Hippolytus*) by the designation XO. β'.

K.

vv. 417 foll.

πολὺ δ' ἀνέστανον
τόδ' ἐννέποντες δόμων προφήται,
ἰὼ ἰὼ δῶμα δῶμα καὶ πρόμοι,
ἰὼ λέχος καὶ στίβοι φιλάνορες·
πάρεστι σιγᾶς ἄτιμος ἀλοίδορος,
ἄδιστος ἀφεμένων ἰδεῖν.

I am almost unwilling to vex these lines, exquisitely beautiful even in the doubt and obscurity which rest upon them, with any further attempt at exact interpretation. Whether it is worth while to do so must depend on the view we take as to the nature of the responsion in metre between strophe and antistrophe used by Aeschylus. If the last two verses originally corresponded syllable by syllable to *vv.* 438—9,

τὸ πᾶν δ' ἄφ' Ἑλλάδος αἶας συννορμένοις
πένθεια τλησικάρδιος κτλ.

the accidental injury must be greater than we can hope to repair. By writing Ἑλλανος (Bamberger) in *v.* 438 and σιγᾶς ἀτίμους ἀλοιδόρους (Hermann) in *v.* 421 we may make these verses correspond with changes singly slight but not really probable. If a copyist having before him the simple words σιγᾶς ἀτίμους ἀλοιδόρους could convert them from mere inattention to something so much less obvious as σιγᾶς ἄτιμος ἀλοίδορος, he may have done anything, and further consideration is useless. The case of *v.* 422 is still harder: ἄπιστος ἐμφανῶν ἰδεῖν (Margoliouth), *not believing what is before his eyes*, though not perhaps beyond suspicion in point of grammar, is a very striking suggestion and the best made: but there is nothing in it to provoke mistake, and if the scribe could change it into ἄδιστος ἀφεμένων ἰδεῖν, it must again be said that he has escaped beyond pursuit.

But since I hold, for reasons explained in the Appendix to my

edition of the *Septem* and in Appendix II to this, that as far as the metre is concerned both strophe and antistrophe may be right as they stand, and as I see no reason to doubt the sense of the antistrophe, I think it worth while to consider further the sense of this.

The first question is, Who are the speakers, the *δόμων προφήται*? Opinion was divided between 'the seers of Menelaus' house' and 'the seers of Priam's house', till it was pointed out independently by Bamberger, H. L. Ahrens, and Housman that *προφήτης* does not mean *a seer* at all, but always *one who interprets or speaks on behalf of* some one either stated or implied in the context¹, and that *προφήται δόμων* must mean 'those who interpreted the house' or something of this kind. The 'interpreters of the house' then, it is said, will be those who at the time of the flight of Helen represented the scene in the house of Menelaus to the elders, who would not otherwise know of it, 'purveyors of gossip about the royal family' (Housman). It is however difficult to believe that a word closely associated with supernatural powers would be applied, without explanation, to such a function as this, even if we assume that the elders would have required 'a revealer' or 'interpreter', being themselves, it would seem, as likely as any one to have had the king's confidence. I must hold therefore that the meaning of *δόμων προφήται* is still to seek.

In truth this appears to be one of those passages, which from the loss of knowledge, familiar at the time of writing, about the terms used and the story told cannot, except by guess-work, be explained at all. From the way in which *δόμων προφήτης* is here used I think it clear that it had some fixed conventional significance, connected, as the general use of the word would indicate, with divination. For instance, a person, who professed to report or communicate to one absent from home what was said in the house which he had quitted, might not unnaturally be called *δόμων προφήτης*, being an intermediary between the enquirer and his house, as the *προφήτης θεοῦ* between the enquirer and the god. If we may further suggest that such services were often used by women, when they quitted one *δῶμος* for another upon *marriage*, - we should account for the mention of the *προφήται* here; for the bitter comparison of the rape to a marriage is pursued in this play repeatedly and in this very passage (*v.* 415). The 'home-interpreters' will then be the seers who at Troy revealed to Helen and Paris what was passing at Argos, sighing, in spite of their intention to mock, at the suffering which they could see. The elders put into their mouths what they

¹ *Theb.* 596 is no exception to this. genitive *θεῶν*.
The context sufficiently suggests the

know to have been the facts. The picture (whether this be the true account of it or no) was probably based upon some scene existing in literature, by reference to which it could easily be understood and completed.

Now as to *vv.* 421—422. One thing I consider certain, that ἄδιστος ἀφεμένων ἰδεῖν, by whomsoever written, was not written accidentally but deliberately. The nominative to πάρεστι is of course ἀνὴρ, *the husband*, supplied from φιλόνορος. Ἀφίεσθαι γυναῖκα (see *L. and Sc. s. v.*) is ‘*to put away a wife*’, and οἱ ἀφήμενοι therefore in this context means Menelaus and his friends, by whom Helen, in the language of the robbers’ irony, has been *dismissed* or *divorced*. Take this with the use of ἥδιστος in *Soph. Ai.* 105 ἥδιστος, ὃ δέσποινα, δεσμώτης ἔσω θακεῖ, *He sits, my most delightful prisoner, within*, and we see that πάρεστιν ἄδιστος ἀφεμένων ἰδεῖν is an appropriate and idiomatic description of Menelaus, as the Trojans might describe him in mockery of his rage and grief. Precisely as in the *Aias*, ἥδιστος describes the object of a malicious joy. Such words were never thrown casually together by a blundering pen. They were written either by the poet or by some singularly learned and cunning editor making poetry for Aeschylus after a conception of his own. I believe they were written by the poet. They represent the feelings which the προφήται δόμων, speaking to the taste of their Trojan auditors, desired to express, sharply contrasted with the pathos, which they felt in their own despite. The words σιγᾶς ἄτιμος ἀλοίδορος (literally ‘unregarded, unscolled on the part of the silence’ *i.e.* ‘with none to answer his contemned invectives’) are conceived in the same spirit¹: and the ambiguity of ἰώ, expressing either triumph or grief, is also adapted to the purpose.

I should translate the whole then somewhat thus: *And oft they sighed, the interpreters of the home, as they said: ‘Ah, for the home! Aha, for the home! Aha! and ah! for the princes thereof! for the husband’s bed yet printed with her embrace! There he stands, his curses mocked with silence, the parted spouse, the sweetest sight of them all!’*

If we were bound to change either this or the antistrophe, I would say, let it be the antistrophe.

¹ The common rendering of ἀλοίδορος with the use of λοιδορία, λοιδορεῖν. (*unreproachful*) is scarcely in accordance

L.

v. 438. πένθεια.

I have said in the note that I endorse unreservedly the old objection, formulated most recently by Mr Housman, against the translation of πένθεια by *mourning*, as if it were a possible equivalent for πένθος. But from this to the conclusion that the reading is corrupt is too long a step.

If πένθεια is a word (and we are not entitled to assume that it was not, merely because we do not easily recognize its origin and meaning), it must signify, as τλησικάρδιος shows, a person, and, as the termination shows, must be a feminine of the type of βασίλεια, ἰέρεια etc. There is no reason why it should not be this, and from the context and other evidence we can fairly infer its meaning. We have a suitable stem in that of πενθ-ερός, connected according to the etymologists with the English *bind*, and signifying at all events the idea of *connexion* or *relationship*. The termination -εως (feminine -εῖα) is also proper to a word of this class, as in ἀγχιστεύς (*a kinsman*), γονεὺς, etc. Thus formed, πένθεια (with a presumable ancient masculine πενθεύς) would mean *kinswoman*, strictly perhaps 'connexion by affinity', but likely to be so used as to include either kinship or connexion generally. Now this is the very thing which the context requires. It is the *women* left behind, the mothers, wives, sisters, daughters of the absent men, who are most naturally taken as types of the anxiety at home; nor is there of course any difficulty in the common usage of the person for the class, 'the kinswoman' for 'the kinswomen'. And to this πένθεια the genitive δόμων 'kinswoman of the house' attaches itself quite naturally. It would be strange, I think, if accidental error had produced so plausible an appearance of sense, and I would therefore retain the text, translating, 'heavy in each house must be the hearts of the women-folk'. Another trace of this archaic group of words may be found in Πενθεύς. Proper names in Greek (e.g. Medon *ruler*, Mnestic *wooer* etc.) are often words gone out of common use. It is not to be supposed that the name of *Pentheus* was given with consciousness of the evil significance found in it by fate (ἐνδυστυχῆσαι τοῦνομ' ἐπιτήδειος εἶ): this intention would take all the point out of the coincidence. The name of 'kinsman' is a happier and a more likely name to attach to an infant; and Euripides has perhaps preserved a glimpse of the primitive sense in Κάδμος... τυραννίδα Πενθεὶ δίδωσι, θυγατρὸς ἐκπεφυκότι (*Bacch.* 44).

For proposed corrections see Wecklein. None are satisfactory, nor if *πένθεια* be given up can the text possibly be reduced to sense without being re-written.

M.

υ. 498 foll. κήρυκ' ἀπ' ἀκτῆς τόνδ' ὀρώ κατάσκιον
κλάδοις ἐλαίας · μαρτυρεῖ δέ μοι κάσις
πηλοῦ ξύνουρος διψία κόνις τάδε,
ὥς οὔτ' ἀνανδος οὔτε σοι δαίων φλόγα
ῦλης ὀρείας σημανεῖ καπνῷ πυρός,
ἀλλ' ἦ τὸ χαίρειν μᾶλλον ἐκβάξει λέγων· κ.τ.λ.

On the difficulty of this passage and the impossibility of accepting the current interpretations I have spoken above. The only remedy proposed by way of correction (see Wecklein) is to read in υ. 501 *ὁς* (Stanley) or *ὁ δ'* (Keck) for *ὥς*. It is easy to see why this has not been found satisfactory. It makes sense of the second clause, 'who (or 'he') will give us the news better than by beacons', but only to raise another question—What then is *τάδε* in υ. 500? What does the dust testify? But a wholly new suggestion has lately been made by Mr Housman (Journal of Philology xvi. 264), which deserves to be stated in full:

The coryphaeus catching sight of the herald sees also in the distance a cloud of dust which he supposes to be raised by the returning army; and the return of the army means something decisive, either victory or defeat. The crew of Agamemnon's ship, if Aeschylus followed Homer, would be 120 men; and these together with an *ἀμαξήρης* *θρόνος* for Agamemnon and Cassandra, would raise in clear dry southern air a cloud of dust to be seen a great way off. No doubt to us the allusion seems obscurely worded; but I fancy the Attic audience recognized an old friend. Of the plays of Aeschylus only a tithe has come down to us, but in that tithe we find *Συρρ.* 186 ὀρώ κόνιν, ἀνανδον ἄγγελον στρατοῦ, and *Sept.* 79 μεθεῖται στρατὸς στρατόπεδον λιπῶν | ... αἰθερία κόνις με πείθει φανεῖσ' | ἀνανδος σαφῆς ἔνυμος ἄγγελος. It may be guessed that by the time the poet wrote this play—three years before his death—he had so familiarised his hearers with the conception of *κόνις* as an ἄγγελος στρατοῦ that he could dispense with an explicit reminder. The addition *κάσις* *πηλοῦ* *ξύνουρος* is mere ornament, like the *αἰόλην* *πυρός* *κάσιν* of *Sept.* 481.

Now it will, I think, be admitted that this explanation, in referring the 'dust' to the approach of the king and his company, offers at any rate a conception intelligible and natural, if only we can fairly find it in the words. The difficulties which Mr Housman leaves are those which he has himself perceived. First, although it is probable enough that the notion of 'dust' as 'announcing' the approach of a large body was

familiar to the audience of Aeschylus¹, we still feel the want here of some indication that the dust is actually seen in the distant landscape. Secondly, we are still without any light upon *κάσις πηλοῦ ξύνουρος διψία*. Mr Housman justifies this as mere ornament by the traditional reference to *Sept.* 481. But the parallel will not bear a moment's examination. To describe the red smoke which proceeds from the mouth of a fire-breathing monster as 'smoke akin to fire' is ornament indeed, and appropriate ornament. But is it equally appropriate, is it ornamental at all, to describe the dust-cloud raised by men marching as *thirsty dust, sister and neighbour to mire*? *Thirsty*, though not very suitable to dust in the air, might pass as a mere epithet of dryness, but *sister and neighbour to mire* gives surely just the suggestions which are not appropriate. Here then are the points to which, following Mr Housman's lead, we should direct our attention.

Considering so, it will occur to us that the obscurest point of all, so far, is the word *ξύνουρος*. I have used above the common rendering 'neighbour'. But *ξύνουρος* really means *conterminous, bordering upon, marching with*, and is applied always to contiguous territories or other figures of space. Now if we should grant that dust, as such, whether on clothes or in the air or wheresoever, might be called *akin to mire*, as being a thing of the same class (?), yet why should these kinsmen have contiguous territories? The idea of 'dust contiguous to mud' is simple enough; the dust of a road, for example, is 'contiguous' to the mud of the ditch: but dust in the air is not contiguous to mud, nor is dust in general. In short, to have a satisfactory sense, the description *πηλοῦ ξύνουρος κόνις* must be not metaphorical at all, but local.

Now the speakers are looking out towards the sea over Argolis, a land so notorious for its dryness as to have been named from Homeric times *The Thirsty* (*πολυδίψιον Ἄργος*, cf. *Ἄργους διψία χθών* Eur. *Alc.* 563). The streams are scanty and in the summer fail entirely, so that the Argives had a legend that Poseidon, defeated in a contest with Athena for the possession of the land, avenged himself by cutting off the water (Pausanias 2. 15. 5). For this reason in the *Suppliants* (784) the swarthy fugitives from Egypt, who have found refuge in Argolis, seeing that their pursuers are near, and calling upon the land to hide them, wish that they might themselves be turned into dust and mix indistinguishably with the black clouds which are sweeping over the downs. In reference therefore to the plain of Argos the description *διψία κόνις* is not merely appropriate, but almost sufficient of itself in

¹ Some confirmatory evidence as to *Septem*, Appendix II. this will be found in my edition of the

the circumstances to suggest the local use. But this dust is 'sister to the mire, contiguous to him'. Why so? Here is the more exact description of the plain of Argos: 'The eastern side is much higher than the western; and the former suffers as much from a deficiency as the latter does from a superabundance of water. A recent traveller (Mure) says that the streams in the eastern part of the plain are all drunk up by the thirsty soil, on quitting their rocky beds for the deep arable land. ...The western part of the plain, on the contrary, is watered by a large number of streams, and at the south western extremity near the sea there is besides a large number of copious springs, which make this part of the country *a marsh or morass* (the marsh of Lerna)...In the time of Aristotle this part of the plain was well-drained and fertile, but at the present day it is again covered with marshes.' (Mure, abridged in Smith's *Dictionary of Geography* i. p. 200.) A glance at the map will show the situation; and see also the account in Pausanias (ii. 36. 6—7) of the journey from Argos to Lerna. Now the mud or ooze of watery land, of the Egyptian Delta for instance, is called among other things *πηλός* (see L. and Sc. s. v.). From these facts and the evidence of the context here it is a reasonable conclusion that *the brother and sister whose lands lie side by side, the Dust and the Mire*, is simply an ancient and traditional description of *Argolis*, parched in its eastern part, drenched in its western. The speakers are looking from Argos eastwards towards the sea, across the waterless region; and it is therefore the Sister, the Dust, which tells them that a large body of men is approaching from the port. Even if the conception of dust announcing an army was not, as it is likely to have been, an Aeschylean commonplace, the local description is quite sufficient to show what is meant, especially interpreted, as on the stage, by the gestures of the actors. On seeing the herald they naturally look out over the country to see what comes behind. The sight of the dust assures them that he is followed by a crowd, and that his news therefore must be important and is probably decisive. As we have seen in the Introduction, the party with the king would be very large, consisting not only of his own soldiers and companions, but of those who had gone to meet him and bring him as rapidly as possible to the fortress. This indication that they are now in sight is extremely important to the plot. The critical situation created by the arrival of the herald could not possibly have been maintained for any great length of time.

As is said in the notes, the reference to the 'olive-boughs' is itself a touch of local colour and thus leads up naturally to the local description which follows it,

N.

vv. 578—584. ἡμῖν δὲ τοῖς λοιποῖσιν Ἀργείων στρατοῦ
 νικᾷ τὸ κέρδος, πῆμα δ' οὐκ ἀντιρρέπει.
 ὥς κομπάσαι τῷδε εἰκὸς ἡλίου φάει
 ὑπὲρ θαλάσσης καὶ χθονὸς ποτωμένοις,
 Τροίην ἐλόντες δῆποτ' Ἀργείων στόλος
 θεοῖς λάφυρα ταῦτα τοῖς καθ' Ἑλλάδα
 δόμοις ἐπασσάλευσαν ἀρχαῖον γάνος.

The difficulty in *vv.* 580—581 is well known, and perhaps cannot be solved with certainty on the present materials. The points to observe are these: (1) The *κόμπος* or *κόμπασμα* is to be made throughout future time, as is shown by the expressions *δήποτε* and *ἀρχαῖον*, which would only become applicable long after. To such a case as this the use of an anticipatory (proleptic) predicate does not fairly extend, as the *λάφυρα* did not become an *ἀρχαῖον γάνος* by being nailed to the temples. It is natural that in making the most of the triumph the man should speak of eternal, not of immediate, fame. This indicates that it is the sun, and not any human person, who is the agent and herald of the *κόμπασμα*, as the grammar itself would also prove: for (2) The order of the words in *v.* 580 favours decidedly the close connexion of *τῷδε...ἡλίου φάει* with *εἰκὸς* inserted in the middle of them. Another construction is however grammatically possible: we may take *τῷδε φάει* either as temporal or as the object of *κομπάσαι* (*boast to the sun*, doubtful Greek but conceivable), and supply from *v.* 578 *ἡμῖν* as the subject of it depending on *εἰκὸς*. So it appears to be taken by all who retain the text, *e.g.* Paley "The sense is 'the Argives, as they joyfully speed on their way, may boast of having fixed up Trojan arms' etc."

But those who reject this (Weil, Wecklein and others, proposing corrections) are in my opinion certainly right; for (i) the usual construction after *εἰκὸς ἐστι* is the accusative and infinitive (not the dative), and in the accusative (*ἡμᾶς*) the pronoun, if the subject of *κομπάσαι*, would naturally be thought: *ποτωμένους* therefore (Stanley) not *ποτωμένοις* would have been written, especially as the accusative would have been free from ambiguity; and (ii) to speak of an army or of messengers as '*flying* over land and sea', in the sense of 'moving rapidly', is not according to the habit of Greek metaphor. At least I can find nothing like it.

Of the suggestions made on the assumption that the text is

unsound, the most probable is that of Merkel, that after *v.* 580 a verse is lost by which *ποτωμένοις* was explained. Against all the mere corrections (such as *ποτωμένῳ* Heath, *τάδε...ποτώμενα* Weil) there is this general objection that they do not account for the reading we find. If the text is not sound, though I believe it is, we had better suppose a lacuna.

O.

v. 655. ξυνώμοσαν γὰρ ὄντες ἔχθιστοι τὸ πρὶν
 πῦρ καὶ θάλασσα, καὶ τὰ πίστ' ἐδειξάτην
 φθείροντε τὸν δύστηνον Ἀργείων στρατόν.

As to the primary meaning of these lines there is no difficulty. The only question to be raised is whether we are to look beyond this. It will be recognized as suitable to the genius of Greek tragedy that one who is unconsciously in imminent danger should unconsciously use expressions exactly signifying his danger to the audience better informed. I believe Aeschylus has here sought that effect. 'A conspiracy', says the man, 'was made between utter foes, *πῦρ* and *θάλασσα*, and for pledge of their league they destroyed the hapless army of Argos'. Now the speaker himself and the remnant that are returned are about to be ensnared, and some if not all of them to be slain, by 'a conspiracy' between two that had been utter foes', Clytaemnestra, that is, and Aegisthus, the hereditary enemy of Agamemnon's house. If then the parts of these two conspirators are properly symbolized by *πῦρ* and *θάλασσα*, the coincidence is such as I at least cannot believe to be unintentional.

As to the *πῦρ* it is, I hope, unnecessary to say more. More than half of this play is occupied with the part which, under the direction of Aegisthus, 'the fire' contributes to the plot by which Agamemnon fell. It remains then to ask whether *θάλασσα* is in like manner a symbol of the part contributed by Clytaemnestra.

Now if we read the strange and thrilling speech which the queen pronounces while her husband passes along the purple-strown pathway to his death (*v.* 949)

ἔστιν θάλασσα—τίς δέ νιν κατασβέσει;—
 τρέφουσα πολλῆς πορφύρας ἰσάργυρον
 κηκίδα παγκαίνιστον, εἰμάτων βαφάς...

¹ Cf. *Cho.* 976 ξυνώμοσαν μὲν θάνατον
 ἀθλίῳ πατρὶ καὶ ξυνθανεῖσθαι· καὶ τὰδ'
 εὐδρόκως ἔχει, an allusion to details in the

foregoing history which we have now no
 means of tracing fully.

and compare it with her description of the bloody bath-robe folded about his corpse (*v.* 1382)

πλοῦτον εἵματος κακόν,

and again with the description of the same as it is produced long after by Orestes (*Cho.* 1008)

μαρτυρεῖ δέ μοι

φᾶρος τόδ' ὡς ἔβαψεν Αἰγίσθου ξίφος.

φόνου δὲ κηκὶς ξὺν χρόνῳ ξυμβάλλεται

πολλὰς βαφὰς φθείρουσα τοῦ ποικίλματος,

and again with the narrative of Orestes in the *Eumenides* (464)

ποικίλοις ἀγρεύμασι

κρύψας, ἃ λουτρῶν ἐξεμαρτύρει φόνον,

we shall feel that the 'sea full of welling crimson', of which in the lines first quoted the murderess is really thinking, is the bloody bath, in which the colours of the fatal robe would be blotted out in one tint more precious than them all. Is there then reason to believe that the term *θάλασσα* was so applied to a bath as to make the phrase *πῦρ καὶ θάλασσα* in the passage before us intelligible as an allusion to it? I think there is. There is evidence that for a *lustral* bath of ceremony, such as was that which Agamemnon took¹, the term *θάλασσα* was technical. This supposition will explain a passage of well-known difficulty in Aristophanes, where the rites are described which are practised in curing the blind Plutus at the temple of Asclepius (*Plut.* 656),

πρῶτον μὲν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ θάλατταν ἡγομεν,

ἔπειτ' ἔλουμεν.

There is nothing in the circumstances there described to make it likely that the real sea was accessible, and the abrupt appearance of this *θάλαττα* in the description has naturally caused perplexity. But the difficulty disappears if the water of purification as such was called *θάλασσα*. And this is probable enough in itself. That mysterious qualities of purification were attributed to sea-water is shown by the proverb

θάλασσα κλύζει πάντα τάνθρώπων κακά (*Eur. Iph. T.* 1191).

Where the sea was accessible it was for lustral purposes preferred (*Soph. Ai.* 654), and for the purpose of lustration salt water was

¹ *Eum.* 636 *δροτῇ περῶντι λουτρά*: fact the bath which one coming from a here and elsewhere the ritual term *λουτρά* journey and from war would properly is applied to it repeatedly. It was in take as preliminary to sacrifice.

artificially made (Theocr. 24. 96). From this belief to a ritual use of the term for the water of ceremonial lustration, whether actually drawn from the sea or not, is a natural process of language; and that this step was actually taken is indicated by the gloss of Hesychius *θαλασσωθεῖς· ἁγνισάμενος*¹.

Putting these facts together I cannot avoid the conclusion that this 'conspiracy of fire and water, utter enemies before' is a phrase intentionally ominous. It is manifest what an excellent opportunity for dramatic effect is given, when the man is made to speak accidentally in a manner so apt to startle the guilty consciences of those about him who are apprised of the deadly secret and at this moment are in the extreme agony of suspense.

P.

v. 817. ἀμφὶ Πλειάδων δῶσιν.

"*About midnight*, at which time the lion goes to his prey and Troy was taken. The poet naturally marks the hour according to the time of the representation of the play; for in the second half of March, when the Great Dionysia were celebrated, the setting of the Pleiads occurs for observers in Greece between ten and eleven at night (Keck, *Neue Jahrb.* 1862, p. 518)." Wecklein.

I think that I ought to mention this new interpretation of these words, because the traditional interpretation, which I accept, is in my view of the play not unimportant to the plot. But I cannot say that I hold the alternative possible. The passages cited by previous commentators (see the note) prove, I think, that *the setting of the Pleiads* had a fixed conventional significance, established long before the time of Aeschylus and still familiar; it marked the season of the winter storms and the end of the season for sailing. But apart from this, I do not see how, without explicit specification of the time of year, the setting of a constellation could possibly be used as the mark of a particular hour of the day. Surely the audience could not be expected to bethink themselves, or indeed to know, at what hour the Pleiads set at the time of the Great Dionysia; and even if they could, would it not be a strange device, destructive of all dramatic illusion, to make a character on the stage, suddenly and without any indication of the purpose, use language

¹ My attention was directed to this gloss by Mr H. B. Smith, who also observes that in later Greek at least the

term *θάλασσα* was used also for certain religious vessels; see e.g. Sophocles *Lexicon s.v. θαλασσίδιον*.

not intelligible at all except under the particular circumstances of the representation? What, we may ask, did the poet intend the actor to do, if the play should be repeated at some other time of the year?

Nor do I see why Agamemnon should recall the fact that Troy was taken at midnight. He had only too good reason for remembering at this moment that it was taken just before the season of storms. The details of the capture of Troy have no connexion with this play and are never mentioned in it. It is possible indeed to detect in this passage an allusion to the 'wooden horse', but it is doubtful and at any rate not essential.

Q.

vv. 887—894. λέγοιμ' ἂν ἄνδρα τόνδε τῶν σταθμῶν κύνα, ...
 ὁδοιπόρῳ διψῶντι πηγαῖον ῥέος, —
 τερπνὸν δὲ τὰναγκαῖον ἐκφυγεῖν ἅπαν·
 τοιοῖσδε τοίνυν ἀξιῶ προσφθέγμασιν.

If this passage has been rightly explained above, much of the difficulty of it has been made, as will be seen, by the specious emendation of Schütz, τοί νιν for τοίνυν in v. 894. As I understand the words, τοίνυν is indispensable. The majority of recent texts have τοί νιν, with full stops at ῥέος and at ἅπαν. Weil however and others are justly dissatisfied, and for myself I scarcely think Mr Housman too trenchant when he says of this reading and punctuation "That Aeschylus did not put v. 893 where it now stands, severing v. 894 from the προσφθέγματα to which it refers, is evident to every one who understands, I do not say the art of poetry, but I say the art of writing respectable verse" (*Journal of Philology*, xvi. p. 269). Nor is the matter much mended if we move v. 893 to some other place. If the catalogue is supposed to be properly ended at πηγαῖον ῥέος, there is no excuse at all for the addition of τοιοῖσδε τοί νιν ἀξιῶ προσφθέγμασιν as a separate remark. The fact is that vv. 893—894 are feeble, irremediably feeble, both in themselves and in contrast to the noble lines which precede them; and if we are really to explain the passage, *we must accept this bathos for part of what we have to explain*, which in the note I have endeavoured to do. What the ms. gives us is certainly not successful eloquence; but was it meant to be?

To omit the two verses (one is not enough) is a simple method, but purely arbitrary. Mr Housman boldly carries off vv. 890—893 (interchanged and slightly altered) to the end of the speech, and places them

after *v.* 902. What he thus produces is certainly sense, though *v.* 893 is still troublesome; but how then the verses came where they are we should be troubled to say.

R.

v. 922—933.

It has been noticed in the Introduction that this altercation between Agamemnon and Clytaemnestra may have different effects according to the manner in which we suppose it to be delivered and acted. Does the king willingly change his purpose? The general opinion, which in such a matter has much weight, seems to be that he does, that he is pleased by the pomp which he pretends to dislike, and gladly submits to the pretended compulsion.

Undoubtedly the words admit this and the scene might be so acted. But it should be pointed out that neither the words nor the circumstances require it. Whatever the king's wishes, he could not, if the queen were resolved, escape the scene she had prepared without a scandalous and ridiculous disturbance which the matter in itself was not worth. Mr Sidgwick (Introduction, p. xvii.) speaks of 'the almost pathetic futility of his pious caution in taking off his shoes, when at last he agrees to tread the purple.' The futility at any rate is apparent; and I confess that to me the act seems to be that of a man who dislikes what he is doing but cannot help himself. Clytaemnestra's object in the whole demonstration is to exhibit the king to the gazers in an unpopular light, to make it appear that he has come back from Asia with his soldiers to assume (like some Pausanias) the state and manners of an Asiatic tyrant. The king takes off his shoes by way of a counter-demonstration. But, as he remarks with vexation, he is still at a disadvantage (*v.* 937). Every one could see that his servants were prostrating themselves and spreading the pavement with carpets, while those at a distance could not appreciate or perceive his reluctance.

Our reading of the scene will depend on the view we take of the king's state of mind in relation to his wife. The impression which his language makes upon me is that he hates her, or rather is prepared to hate her, as cordially as she hates him, that he suspects her to be the chief thing *ὅτι δὲ φαρμάκων παιωνίων*, and that if he had lived another day, she and her abettors would have assisted at a memorable demonstration of his 'kindly surgery'. If he does not fear her (and he has one

moment almost of fear, *v.* 915), that is because he is necessarily ignorant of all that makes her formidable.

There is another point in this scene which is well worth notice, as illustrating the supposed relations between Agamemnon and Clytaemnestra. If the king has the slightest regard for his wife or attributes to her any affection for him, why does he insult her by his behaviour to Cassandra? Is there any evidence that an Athenian audience would have thought it decent in a returning husband to bring a *δορίκτητον* λέχος along with him in state to the door of his own house and give to the mistress of it a public order to receive her kindly? Contrast the behaviour which Sophocles attributes in like circumstances to the Heracles of the *Trachiniae* (225 foll.), the indignation of the spectators when his purpose is discovered, and the bitter feelings of Deianira herself. The language of the king respecting Cassandra and the manner in which he puts her forward has, to my mind, only one possible meaning; and if anything is required to perfect the outrage, it is the canting phrase with which it is accompanied. There is at any rate no doubt that this is the view of Clytaemnestra (see *v.* 1438 foll.).

S.

vv. 966—969.

τίπτε μοι τόδ' ἐμπέδως
 δείγμα προστατήριον
 καρδίας τερασκόπον ποτᾶται,
 μαντιπολεῖ δ' κ.τ.λ.

The question of the probability of the *ms.* reading δείγμα depends upon our conception of the metaphor by which this passage holds together. The boding heart is a *τερασκόπος*, *i.e.* a *μάντις*, a professional interpreter of signs, prodigies etc. What is the relation to this figure of the words δείγμα προστατήριον ποτᾶται?

To answer this we must start from *προστατήριος*, a word of well-marked associations. It signifies *standing before* or *set before a door* or *gate*, and applies usually to images of the gods there placed. That it should be used without any reference to this its proper meaning is unlikely, especially here, where the whole scene, with the *προστατήριοι θεοί* around, is ready to suggest the usual connexion of ideas. Secondly, we observe that the speakers have not a definite anticipation but only a vague surmise of something wrong; or, to put the same thing in terms of the metaphor, the heart is not actually prophesying but only offering as it were to prophesy. Thus, to satisfy the context, δείγμα προστατήριον

τερασκόπου should be something set before the door of a μάντις to advertise him as such: and this something, it would seem, ποτᾶται, i.e. hovers or flutters.

Now it is a coincidence curious, if accidental, that in another place we find again this same rare word δείγμα associated with similar expressions. In the *Acharnians* (989) Dicaeopolis has retired into his house to prepare a feast of the birds which he has bought from the Boeotian; and the chorus outside perceive traces of the preparations in the feathers which are flung out before the door. This they describe in the odd phrase τοῦ βίου δ' ἐξέβαλε δείγμα τάδε τὰ πτερὰ πρὸ τῶν θυρῶν. Clearly here the words τοῦ βίου δείγμα, as an advertisement of his way of living, are not such as would first occur, but are chosen for the sake of some familiar association. The two passages look as if they should have a common explanation and strongly suggest, I think, that the professional μάντις used a δείγμα or sign before his door, and that this sign was a feather or feathers (πτερὰ), a rebus explaining itself at once by the fact that πτερόν means an omen. (Aristophanes perhaps borrowed from this custom the notion of a dealer in πτερὰ (wings) which is used in the *Birds*; see v. 1330 σὺ δὲ τὰ πτερὰ πρῶτον διάθες τάδε κόσμω· τὰ τε μουσίχ' ὁμοῦ τὰ τε μαντικά καὶ τὰ θαλάττια κ.τ.λ.). If this were so, the meaning of Aeschylus would be simple, *Why doth my heart, prophetic-like, still set in front this fluttering sign?*

At any rate here is reason for retaining δείγμα provisionally and on the chance of more certain information. The simile will appear specially effective and natural, if we remember the scene, the palace-front 'fluttering' doubtless with gorgeous draperies, and the door through which the king has just passed, according to the image suggested in v. 963, like a victim going to the sacrifice.

T.

vv. 995—1000.

καὶ τὸ μὲν πρὸ χρημάτων
κτησίῳ ὄκνος βάλων
σφενδόνας ἀπ' εὐμέτρου,
οὐκ ἔδν πρόπας δόμος
παμονᾶς γέμων ἄγαν,
οὐδ' ἐπόντισέ σκάφος.

As is said in the note, the essential difficulty of this passage turns on the words σφενδόνας ἀπ' εὐμέτρου. A 'measured sling' seems an idea inapplicable, both literally and metaphorically, to a ship and its cargo.

Cargo may be flung away, but could not surely be slung away. *Σφενδόνη*, as the Lexicon will show, has many meanings, and this passage demands one more. Of course in such cases we cannot get beyond a guess. The main idea of the word, as of the English *sling*, seems to be not *throwing* but *suspension*. Thus 'a sling for the arm', 'a suspending bandage', and the 'bezel', which contains the jewel of a ring, are called *σφενδόνη*. It is possible that some kind of instrument for suspending and weighing heavy goods was called a *sling*; and *εὔμετρος* points to something like this. In that case *ὄκνος βαλὼν* would be not the terror which flings away a cargo in a storm, but the prudent apprehension which *rejects* and refuses to embark part of a load found to be too heavy for the boat, though it would always be more profitable to take more. This would not be open to the just objection of Mr Housman against the common view, that *ὄκνος* means properly not *terror* but *shrinking, hesitating*: *ὄκνος* would not suggest but prevent such prompt action as throwing away cargo in a storm. And we have then also a better explanation of *ἀπό*, *discharging from the scale*. This would give the sense adopted in the translation.

Mr Housman (see the article cited) would correct these lines, and indeed the whole passage, freely. In any case, until the meaning of *σφενδόνη* in connexion with cargo can be positively ascertained, the whole must remain uncertain and would scarcely repay further discussion.

U.

- v.* 1076. αὐτόφωνα κακὰ κάρτα· ναί,
 ἀνδροσφαγέϊον κτλ.
v. 1081. κλαιόμενα τὰ βρέφη σφαγὰς
 ὅπτας τε σάρκας κτλ.

M 1076 καρτάναι, 1081 τάδε.

In spite of the scholium *ἀντὶ τοῦ ἀγχόνῃ*, which with naïve indifference to sense and construction assumes that *καρτάναι* stands for *καὶ ἀρτάνη*, they are right who hold that the word *ἀρτάνη* did not here occur. Hanging was to the Greek mind a type of suicide, and with neither hanging nor suicide have we anything to do. Most of the bolder suggestions, *e.g.* *καράτομα* (Kayser), proceed on the assumption that the metre of *v.* 1076 should be corrected to that of *v.* 1081. But I think the error, a very small one, is in *v.* 1081.

In *v.* 1076 Cassandra, as the elders observe, is 'tracking the scent'

of the Thyestean crime, coming nearer to it with each word: *Nay, it is an accursed house, full of guilty secrets, yea, of murders unnatural, aye verily, a place where human victims bleed, where babes besprinkle the altar.* The asseverations $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu$ $\omicron\upsilon\acute{\nu}$, $\kappa\acute{\alpha}\rho\tau\alpha$, and $\nu\alpha\acute{\iota}$ mark the growing clearness and certainty, till it rises (v. 1080) to actual vision. The word $\kappa\acute{\alpha}\rho\tau\alpha$, here qualifying $\alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\phi\omicron\nu\alpha$, is a favourite with the poet.

In v. 1081 on the other hand we have only to adopt for $\tau\acute{\alpha}\delta\epsilon$ the archaic demonstrative $\tau\acute{\alpha}$, in which reading, strangely enough, the later MSS. (*Florentinus, Venetus, Farnesianus*) all agree. It would almost seem as if they must in this place have been guided by some note or tradition, independent of M, which has now disappeared. At any rate it is likely enough that $\tau\acute{\alpha}\delta\epsilon$, a correct explanation of $\tau\acute{\alpha}$, should have come wrongly into the text of M, as $\tau\acute{\omicron}\delta\epsilon$ (a not very correct explanation) has for $\tau\acute{\omicron}$ in v. 175.

V.

vv. 1167—1171. $\iota\omega$ πρόπυργοι θυσίαι πατρός
 πολυκανείς βοτῶν ποιονόμων· ἄκος δ' οὐδὲν ἐπήρκεσαν
 τὸ μὴ πόλιν μὲν ὥσπερ οὖν ἔχειν παθεῖν,
 ἐγὼ δὲ θερμόνους τάχ' ἐμπέδω βαλῶ.

The question presented by this last line does not perhaps admit complete answer. But I would call attention to one most important consideration overlooked. It is a common groundwork of all views that $\epsilon\mu\pi\acute{\epsilon}\delta\omega$ at least is wrong. Now it is, I submit, on the contrary certain that $\epsilon\mu\pi\acute{\epsilon}\delta\omega$ is right. Let us consider what the context requires: $\epsilon\gamma\omega$ δὲ κτλ. answers to πόλιν μὲν κτλ., the second part of a dependent antithesis being turned, as often in poetry (e.g. v. 1287), into an independent sentence; 'Alas! how many a victim from his rich herds did my father sacrifice on behalf of his town! Yet they availed not at all to save the city from receiving such fate as it hath, while I' etc. In spite of Priam's offerings, he and his are utterly destroyed, all but Cassandra, and she will soon be added to the rest. Such is the connexion of thought.

Now we must not suppose that by mere error the MS. could offer exactly what is wanted to round off the period effectively, that is to say, an antithesis bringing together Cassandra and Priam. That *θερμόνους hot-brained, rash-witted* is in itself an excellent word is not disputed, nor that it fitly applies to Cassandra, as she was regarded by her incredulous countrymen. But $\epsilon\mu\pi\epsilon\delta\omicron\varsigma$ (τὸν νοῦν) *solid* or *sound* (of

judgment) is not only a good antithesis to *θερμόνους*, but is applied in Homer as a characteristic description to Priam, e.g. *Il.* 20. 183 εἰσὶν γάρ οἱ (Πριάμῳ) παῖδες, ὁ δ' ἔμπεδος οὐδ' ἀεσίφρων (see L. and Sc. s. v.). Aeschylus and his audience would not forget this; and the contrast of the epithets here (ἐγὼ θερμόνους, ἐμπέδῳ αὐτῷ), when the prophecies of the 'sick-brained' Cassandra have been realized in the ruin of her 'wise' father and all his kin, is a touch of irony not to be attained by copying carelessly. Whoever wrote ἐμπέδῳ meant to oppose it, as the Homeric epithet of Priam, to θερμόνους. Neither is it in the manner of ancient editors, so far as we know them. Indeed an editor capable of it must have known more about Aeschylus than any one knows now and have had much better material for his text.

From this antithesis then we have to start, whether for interpretation or correction. Nor is there room for much variation of meaning: ἐγὼ δὲ θερμόνους τάχα πρὸς ἔμπεδον αὐτὸν ἐρρήσω—something like this is what we should look for. But again, in the verb at least this is exactly what we have; for that the intransitive βάλλειν *to fall, to go* was used for ἔρρειν is proved by the popular phrases βάλλ' ἐς μακαρίαν, βόλλ' ἐς κόρακας etc.: nor are we in a position to say that the popular use might not find a parallel in archaic poetry.

The question then narrows itself to this, whether the case of ἐμπέδῳ could be constructed with βαλῶ in the sense required, a question difficult to answer. An ordinary locative dative would offer no difficulty. In the older grammar of poetry βάλλειν (in the sense of *going to*) would naturally take that case, on the analogy of πεδίῳ πέσσε, οὔδει ἐρείσθη, θαλάσῃ ἔλσαι Ἀχαιοὺς etc. (Kühner *Gr. Gramm.* § 423. 4; Monro *Homeric Grammar* § 145. 4) and of the transitive βάλλω (Eur. *Med.* 1285 etc.). The extant 'locative datives of persons' (Monro *H. G.* § 145. 4) do not offer a parallel, and we should scarcely expect it. But there is, I think, good reason here for a construction not exactly proper to a personal object. The ruined city, the slaughtered Trojans, and the dead king, who is the type of the whole, are not here truly conceived as persons at all. They are, if we may mark the latent metaphor more precisely, the heap *on* which the survivor will soon be flung. In the circumstances I do not myself feel the locative case to be unnatural. If there is error, it is in βαλῶ, but I do not suspect it.

The elision of τάχα is noticeable, being generally confined in Aeschylus to set phrases such as τάχ' ἂν, τάχ' εἴσομαι (see on v. 898), but it is not a ground for objection.

W.

v. 1210. XO. πῶς δῆτ' ἄνακτος ἦσθα Λοξίου κότῳ;
 KA. ἔπειθον οὐδέν' οὐδέν' ὥς τάδ' ἤμπλακον.

All texts here adopt some conjectural reading, for the most part one of these two :

πῶς δῆτ' ἄνακτος ἦσθα Λοξίου κότον; Wieseler :

πῶς δῆτ' ἄνατος ἦσθα Λοξίου κότῳ; Canter :

both assuming the sense to be *How then could Apollo punish thee?* From the first, though ἄνακτος is feeble and the use of ἦσθα (*didst thou feel*) very doubtful, the sense sought can perhaps be obtained. The second, though largely supported, seems to me impossible. The words could only mean *How didst thou escape the anger of Loxias?* to which the answer does not correspond; nor can the Elders, who know the story by rumour (v. 1683) and are drawing it out by leading questions, possibly suppose that Cassandra did escape¹. Moreover, as Blomfield said, usage would require not κότῳ but κότον.

But further there is error in the assumption, common to both suggestions, as to the sense required. There is nothing in the foregoing narrative to prompt the question *How then could Apollo punish thee?* The god might have taken vengeance in a hundred ways. From the emphasis laid upon ἦδη in v. 1208 and 1209 it is clear that the problem was this. Before Cassandra proved false, Apollo had *already* conferred the prophetic gift. Now it was the established rule that "the gods themselves cannot recall their gifts". How then, asks the enquirer, could he undo what had been done? Cassandra answers that he did so, and shows how. He left the prophetic gift (which he might not take away) but yet effectually annulled it by causing her never to be believed.

From this point of view we shall see that there is in v. 1210 no error at all, or at most a mere editorial error of accentuation. Ἄνακτος is not the genitive of ἀναξ but the verbal adjective from ἀνάγειν, represented in Latin by *revocabilis*². That which is οὐκ ἄνακτόν τι, *alicui non revocabile*, is that which *he cannot bring back* or which, as we should say, 'has escaped beyond his reach'. Cassandra, having received the stipulated reward upon a mere promise and before performance,

¹ Cho. 539 καὶ πῶς ἄρῳπον κτλ. differs essentially both in the form of the question and in the form of the answer.

² On the question of accentuation see ἔπακτος or ἐπακτός.

might have seemed to be *beyond the reach of Loxias' wrath*; and the question asked is, how then the angry god could bring her back into his power. The use of the word was probably suggested by the legal associations of ἀνάγειν and ἀναγωγή as applied to the process for the recovery of what was paid by mistake or fraud.

In *vv.* 1205—1208 there is dispute as to the meaning of παλαιστής, νόμφ, and ῥρημένη, upon which I shall only say that I believe the text to be sound.

X.

vv. 1227—1229. οὐκ οἶδεν οἷα γλῶσσα μισητῆς κυνός,
λέξασα κάκτείναςα φαιδρόνους δίκην
ᾄτης λαθραίου, τεύξεται κακῇ τύχῃ.

These lines, according to the explanation which I take, by combination, from Mr Macnaghten and Mr Bury (partly anticipated many years ago by Mr E. S. Thompson), are open to one objection, not, I think, serious. There is undoubtedly great boldness of metaphor in saying that 'a tongue...reaches forth a cast'. But we must observe that there is no mixture of metaphors, for there is only one metaphor: γλῶσσα is not metaphorical at all; neither is κυνός properly speaking metaphorical; it is simply an opprobrious term for the adulteress. Except in ἐκτείναςα δίκην (secondary sense) there is no metaphor, and to this metaphor τεύξεται is accurately adapted. It is also material that the words γλῶσσα and δίκην are far from each other, and the transition is neatly smoothed by the intermediate steps λέξασα and ἐκτείναςα. The real subject being *Clytaemnestra*, γλῶσσα easily drops out of view. And besides, the allusive force of ἐκτείναςα and of δίκην would go far to palliate what otherwise might not please. When a writer wishes to make verbal points of this kind (and Aeschylus loved them, though there is a great difference in this respect between the *Seven against Thebes* for instance and the *Agamemnon*), he often does some violence to his language. The transition supposed is very different in kind from the grotesque and unthinkable imagery of γλῶσσα κυνός λείξασα κάκτείναςα φαιδρόν οὖς (Ahrens and Madvig) 'a tongue licking and pointing a joyful ear'.

Of my own previous remarks on the passage (*Journal of Philology*, x. 299) I find in the negative part nothing to change; but the reference to *v.* 902, pointed out by Mr Macnaghten, makes it very improbable that δίκην is wrong, and thus puts out of court my suggested correction,

as well as the late Dr Munro's (δοκῆν *J. Ph.* xi. p. 133) and many others. What was wanted was something to make natural, with δίκην, the use of the verb ἐκτείνειν and the genitive ἄτης λαθραίου. Exactly that Mr Bury supplies. If it is to be objected against Mr Bury that we have not another specimen of δίκη (or δική) = βόλος, that objection will not be made by me. Δίκη necessarily meant *cast* in Greek, as long as the verb δικεῖν existed and was known, and might have been used in that sense by Aeschylus, even if (to take a most improbable supposition) no one had done so before or did so afterwards.

The reading adopted by Dr Wecklein is

οὐκ οἶδεν οἷαν γλῶσσα μισητή, κυνὸς
λείξασα κάκτείνας φαιδρὸν οὖς δίκην,
ἄτην λαθραίων κτλ.

The suggestion to separate κυνὸς from the preceding words and to write μισητή is attributed to Kirchhoff. I mention this as being the only version adopting the readings λείξασα (Tyrwhitt) and φαιδρὸν οὖς (Ahrens, Madvig), which appears to me at all tolerable. But after all, it does not really avoid the fatal phrase γλῶσσα...ἐκτείνας οὖς: and moreover the positions of the words κυνὸς...δίκην make it difficult to suppose that they mean *like a dog*.

Y.

v. 1266. ἴτ' ἐς φθόρον πεσόντ' ἀγαθὸ δ' ἀμείβομαι†.

With diffidence I repeat here the conjecture offered in the *Appendix* to my edition of the *Medea* (and adopted by Mr Sidgwick) ΠΕCON-ΤΑΘΩΔ (πεσόντα θ' ὦδ') for ΠΕCONΤΑΓΑΘΩΔ. It has at least the advantage of accounting perfectly by repetition of letters (ΤΑΤΑ), for the corruption: see an exact parallel in v. 222 ΤΕΓΕ for τε. I retain however ἀμείβομαι, the *original* reading of f, not the future ἀμείψομαι, easily explained as an alteration to suit διαφθερῶ. Hermann's ἐγὼ δ' ἄμ' εἶψομαι (followed by Dindorf, Wecklein and others) gives no satisfactory account of the corruption. Moreover v. 1267, properly explained, is strong evidence for retaining the verb ἀμείβεσθαι.

It was objected however to my suggestion by no less an authority than Munro (*J. Ph.* xi. p. 139) (1) that δέ not τε would be required, and (2) that “πεσόντα in such a sentence cannot be the same as κείμενα”. As to the second point, I can see no difference between πεσόντα ἀμείβομαι here and τὸν πεσόντα λακτίσαι πλέον (v. 876) to *spurn the man*

who is down, literally 'him who has fallen'. Dr Munro cited the difference between *θανών* and *τεθνηκώς*. But though *τεθνηκώς* cannot be used for *θανών*, *θανών* is used for *τεθνηκώς* constantly. It seems to be purely indifferent in such cases whether the past 'act' be given (*θανών*, *πεσών*) or the resulting state (*τεθνηκώς*, *πεπτωκώς*). The first objection is more solid, but I do not think it sustainable. Doubtless *δέ* would be required if *ἔτ' ἐς φθόρον* and *πεσόντα ἀμείβομαι* described separate actions entirely distinct. But they do not. The whole is one cumulative action and the copula *τε* (*and so*) really joins not so much clauses as verbs. It is as if she said *φθάρητέ τε φθαρέντα τ' ἀμείβομαι*. So in Soph. *Ai.* 654 *ἀλλ' εἶμι πρὸς τε λουτρά καὶ παρακτίους λειμῶνας..... μολὼν τε... κρύψω τόδ' ἔγχος*, where *μολὼν* resumes *εἶμι* as *πεσόντα* (*εἶμι* having no aorist participle of the sense here required) resumes *ἔτ' ἐς φθόρον*, Pind. *Ol.* i. 90 *ἔλεν παρθένον σύννευον τέκε τε λαγέτας ἐξ υἱούς*, Lys. 13. 1 *ἔπραξεν οὗτος τοιαῦτα δι' ἃ ὑπ' ἐμοῦ μισεῖται ὑπὸ τε ὑμῶν τιμωρηθήσεται*. See other examples in Kühner *Gr. Grammar* § 519, 3. Munro himself suggested *ἔτ' ἐς φθόρον πεσόντ'—ἴθ', ὥδ' ἀμέρξομαι* 'thus will I tear you', comparing the parallel scene in Eur. *Troades* 451 foll. *ὦ στέφη τοῦ φιλτάτου μοι θεῶν... ἔτ' ἀπ' ἐμοῦ χρωτὸς σπαραγμοῖς*.

Z.

vv. 1276—1277. *βωμοῦ πατρώου δ' ἀντ' ἐπίξηνον μένει
θερμῷ κοπέισης φοινίῳ προσφάγματι.*

These verses have been interpreted as if *θερμῷ φοινίῳ προσφάγματι* were an instrumental dative, *with hot and bloody sacrifice*. I do not think this possible. In the first place *πρόσφαγμα* cannot mean simply *sacrifice*. For this is cited Eur. *Tro.* 624, where *προσφάγματα* is used of Polyxena slain at the tomb of Achilles, *i.e.* in its usual sense 'an offering for the dead'; so also in Eur. *Hec.* 41 (of Polyxena), *id. Hel.* 1255, *id. Alc.* 845. The meaning of *προ-* in the compound, as in other compounds, probably varied. In general it meant *on behalf of* (*προ-* = *ὑπέρ*); thus while the living chiefs received their allotted captives Polyxena was slain *on behalf of* the dead Achilles. So in Eur. *Iph. T.* 458, the human victims of Artemis are *πρόσφαγμα θεᾶς* slain for the goddess, where the object of the preposition is expressed. But Eur. *Hel.* 1255, *προσφάζεται μὲν αἷμα πρῶτα νεπτέροις*, shows that *προ-* easily lent itself to the temporal sense, 'the blood shed first', the 'opening sacrifice', and that is perhaps rather the meaning here. At the same time the common

meaning 'a sacrifice for the dead' is not inappropriate, since Agamemnon and his paramour are 'wedded in death' according to the grim conception of Clytemnestra (*v.* 1447) and each therefore slain *for* the other.

Secondly, θερμῶ must be a predicate and equivalent to θερμῶ ὄντι. In Aeschylus, where *two* adjectives are used, one almost always is a predicate (see on *Theb.* 850), and here the separate and emphatic position of θερμῶ marks it clearly as such. As an epithet moreover it has no point.

The construction of the dative is that which with strictly personal subjects is not uncommon even in the older prose writing and might be called a dative 'absolute' with as much or as little propriety as the corresponding genitive (Gildersleeve, *Pindar Ol. and Pyth.*, Preface p. xciii.). The genitive 'absolute' indicates that the act or condition described by it stands in a relation to the main act conceived as resembling that of the origin or 'point from which', or some other relation expressed by this case. Where the relation to be described resembles rather that of the dative, the older language uses that case also with freedom. Most common are datives 'absolute' modelled on the personal dative 'of interest' *e.g.* Herod. 6. 21 ποιήσαντι Φρυνίχῳ δρᾶμα Μιλήτου ἄλωσιν ἐς δάκρυα ἔπεσε τὸ θέητρον, Thuc. 4. 120 ἀποστᾶσι δ' αὐτοῖς ὁ Βρασίδας διέπλευσε: but there are also datives 'absolute' resembling the instrumental, as Theocr. 13. 29 Ἑλλάσποντον ἱκοντο νότῳ τρίτον ἄμαρ ἀέντι, and others again where, as with the genitive, special relation disappears in the general relation of *circumstance*, Xen. *Ages.* 1. 2 τοῖς προγόνοις ὀνομαζομένοις, ἀπομνημονεύεται ὅσοτος ἀφ' Ἡρακλέους ἐγένετο, Pind. *Ol.* 2. 76 λείφθη Θέρσανδρος ἐριέντι Πολυνείκει etc. (See for a large collection of examples Kühner *Gr. Gramm.* § 423, 25, *f*, and also note on *Theb.* 217.) The use is very seldom found in the fully developed prose style, having been driven out partly by the genitive, partly by the more precise though more cumbrous use of prepositions or of dependent clauses with conjunctions. So in *Eum.* 592 οὐ κειμένῳ πῶ τόνδε κομπάζεις λόγον the dative represents what a prose-writer would more accurately have expressed by ἐπί or, if he had used a simple case at all, by the genitive κειμένον. See also *Ag.* 1298, and note there. Here the relation of the dative, so far as it is specialized, is partly that of 'interest', extending itself after Aeschylus' manner to a subject not strictly personal, partly that of mere succession *to*, as in *v.* 1171, 1338 and Soph. *O. T.* 175 ἄλλον δ' ἂν ἄλλῳ (*one after another*) προσίδους ὄρμενον, where see Prof. Jebb's note. Either way the meaning is that the slain Agamemnon will immediately *receive* another victim in Cassandra.

The use of this dative 'absolute' is particularly natural here (and for a similar reason in *Theb.* 217) where the genitive case is appropriated, so to speak, by κοπείσης. As to this genitive itself, which is sometimes suspected, it would seem that no other case could be used: κοπεῖσαν with μένει would hardly be correct; a present or future participle would be required. But κοπείσης as explained in the note is really general and therefore properly in the aorist.

APPENDIX II.

On the correspondence of Strophe and Antistrophe.

On this subject, which is happily not very important to the play before us, I shall be as brief as possible, referring the reader to my edition of the *Seven against Thebes*, *Appendix I.*, the conclusions of which I shall here assume. "Upon the whole review, we see that three types of variation from strict syllabic correspondence are common in the *Seven against Thebes*—for we are not justified in assuming that an equal strictness must be found in all the works even of the same poet.—(1) a 'syncopated' foot answering to a complete foot¹; (2) the trochaic or 'cyclic' dactyl answering to a trochee proper; (3) a long syllable in 'thesis' answering to a short syllable". I have reason to believe that the evidence offered for this has been found satisfactory, and as to (1), the only part of the statement likely to cause surprise, I may now cite the express agreement of Dr Fennell².

The case of the *Agamemnon* is different. The evidence proves indeed not a few departures from syllabic correspondence. They are of exactly the same kind as those which are common in the *Septem* and, taken in connexion with them, are not open to reasonable suspicion. But they are exceptional; and in general this play exhibits a much nearer approach than the *Septem* to that strict treatment which seems to have been approved by Sophocles. This fact, we may observe, so far from diminishing the strength of the evidence for these variations, increases it very greatly. If Aeschylus had always used the stricter system, and if the departures from it in the ms. text were the result of erroneous copying, we should expect to find them on the average

¹ — — — ♪, in musical notation

♪ • = ♪ ♪

² *The Parodos of Aeschylus' Septem etc.* Cambridge, Univ. Press, 1889.

equally prevalent in different plays. And the contrary fact points to the contrary inference.

I will now simply enumerate in classes the variations which may be called regular, and add a few words on some cases of more peculiarity or difficulty.

§ I. -- -- (♩ . = ♩ ♩).

{ 205. να | ων- | και- | πεισμα | των
 { 218. τεκ | νον δα | ιξ- | ω δομ | ων

The vertical lines mark the divisions of the feet. The mark - indicates the 'holding' of the preceding note.

{ 380. παρ | εστι | τουτ- | εξιχ | νευσαι
 { 397. προ | βουλο | παις α | φερτος | ατας

{ 384. πατ | οιθ ο δ | ουκ- | ευσεβ | ης-
 { 401. τριβ | ω- | και- | προσβο | λαις-

{ 387. πνε | ον- | των- | μειζον | η δικ | αιως
 { 404. δι | ω- | κει- | παις- | πτανον | ορνιν

{ 388. φλε | ον- | των- | δωμα | των υ | περ- | φευ-
 { 405. πολ | ει- | προς- | τριμμ α | φερ- | τον- | θεις-

{ 390. μαντον | ωστ απ | αρκ- | ειγ- | ευ πραπι | δων λα | χοντα
 { 407. τον δ ε | πιστρο | φον- | τωνδε | φωτ αδικ | ον καθ | αιρει

{ 414. κλον | ους- | λογχιμ | ους τε | και- | ναυβατ | ας οπ | λισμους
 { 430. παρ | εισι | δοξ- | αι φερ | ουσ- | αι χαρ | ιν ματ | αιαν

{ 449. ψηγμα | δυσδακ | ρυτον | αν- |
 τηνορ | ος σποδ | ου γε | μι- |
 { 467. των πολ | υκτον | ων γαρ | ουκ α |
 ποσκοπ | οι θε | οι κελ | αι- |

{ 699. κελσαν | των Σιμο | εντος | ακτ- | ας επ | αξι | φυλλους
 { 715. παμπροσθ | η πολυ | θρηνον | αι- | ων- | αμφι πολ | ιταν.

{ 1482. η μεγαν | οικois | τοισδε | δαιμονα | και βαρυ
 { 1506. ως μεν αν | αιτιος | ει- | τουδε φον | ου τις ο

In this list of examples one striking fact is the extraordinary prevalence of the 'syncopated' foot, both as a regular form and as a variation, in *vv.* 379—412, a strong argument that it proceeds from some purpose of the poet and not from accidental injury of the text, which cannot reasonably be supposed to have acted upon a particular *strophe* and *antistrophe* in this exceptional but yet methodic manner.

Some of these variations may, as we should expect, be reduced to syllabic regularity by such expedients as the insertion of τε or γε¹. But others cannot. Not the least objection, except that grounded on metre, lies against οἴκοις τοῖσδε (the common dative of relation) in *v.* 1482. In *v.* 414 the supposed metrical difficulty has led to criticisms and proposals, which without it would not have been entertained for a moment. In the order of the words ἀσπίστορας κλόνους λογχίμους τε (*i.e.* κλόνους ἀσπίστορας λογχίμους τε *din of shield and spear*) there is nothing irregular: τε follows according to rule the word (λογχίμους) which it serves to couple on: and where adjectives are thus coupled by τε some other word constantly stands between them, *e.g.* in Eur. *Hec.* 267 αἰχμάλωτον χρή τιν' ἔκκριτον θανεῖν κάλλει θ' ὑπερφέρουσιν (*i.e.* ἔκκριτον...κάλλει θ' ὑπερφέρουσιν). On the other hand the double change proposed for the sake of syllabic respension (ἀσπίστορας κλόνους τε καὶ λογχίμους ναυβάτας θ' ὀπλισμούς) makes an arrangement not only improper but unconstruable. The first τε, however it be taken, is both useless and out of its place².

§ 2. – = ∪ in the unaccented part of the foot.

This (the 'unnatural' long syllable of H. Schmidt's terminology) is found in almost all poets and in every kind of metre. It occurs in the *strophæ* of the *Agamemnon* with moderate frequency.

{ 192. χαρ | ις βι | αιως | σελμα
{ 200. εχ | ων παλ | ιρρο | θοις εν

{ 207. τριβ | ω κατ | εξ – | αινον | ανθος | Αργει | ων.
{ 220. ρεεθ | ροις πατ | ρω – | ους χερ | ας βω | μου πελ | ας.

Here, as is not uncommonly the case, the feet interchange. All the feet are equal, most of them true trochees, the second in each set (not counting the anacrusis) a 'syncopated' trochee, while the trochaic – – appears in the fifth foot of the first set, and in the fourth foot of the second. So also in the first feet of *vv.* 392, 3, 4 compared with *vv.* 409, 10, 11 and in the last foot of *v.* 393 compared with that of *v.* 410. So in *vv.* 426, 27, 28. So in *v.* 1105 γένει by 1119 τεύχει: see Soph.

¹ Not that these insertions are justified by the usage of the poet. Both in 205 and in 401 the inserted τε is perfectly otiose and offensive. Aeschylus is not in the habit of using τε καὶ as a mere equi-

valent for τε or καὶ.

² According to the MS. there would be a 'syncopated' foot in *v.* 441 ουσ- | μεν γαρ ε | πεμψεν: but see note there.

O. C. 1557 and 1568. So in the first syllable (anacrusis) of *v.* 1162 *νεογνὸς* compared with *v.* 1173 *καὶ τίς σε*.

One or two more cases are doubtful. In *v.* 1469 the correction *ἐμπίνεις* is probable, in *v.* 1512 *προβαίνων* is not improbable. In *v.* 462 Orelli's conjecture *ἔχθοντας* would give an instance, but the *ms.* *ἔχοντας* is better.

§ 3. $- \cup \cup = - \cup$ ($\text{♪ ♪} = \text{♪} \cdot \text{♪}$).

This, which in the *Septem* is scarcely less frequent than (1) and (2), is in the *Agamemnon* rare. Two certain examples are close together :

{	718.	ε		θρεψ	-		εν δε λε		οντος		ι -	
				νιν δομ			οις αγα		λακτον		οι -	
				τας αν			ηρ φιλο		μαστον			
				εν βιο			του προτε		λειους etc.			
{	728.	χρο		νισ -			θεις δ απε		δειξεν		η -	
				θος το			προς τοκε		ων χαρ		ιν -	
				γαρ τροφ			ας α		μειβων			
				μηλοφον			οισιν		αταις etc.			

Both the last lines have been variously emended, but the suggested changes in *v.* 730 (*e. g.* *τροφᾶς ἀπαμείβων*) are arbitrary and those in *v.* 731 (see note there) very unhappy. From the mere fact that the same peculiarity occurs in two successive lines, we may be sure that there is no error. Such variations are naturally often grouped together. See also *v.* 715, as given in § 1 above. In *v.* 412 we should perhaps retain *κλοπαῖς*, and in *v.* 458 *προδίκουσιν*: but these dative forms are always uncertain.

§ 4. $- = \cup \cup$ ($\text{♪} = \text{♪ ♪}$).

This, the so-called 'resolution of a long syllable', is not unfrequent.

{	394.	λακτιω		αντι μεγ		αλα δικ		ας -	
	411.	ησχυ		νε ξενι		αν τραπ		εξ -	
{	417.	α		τλητα		τλασα		πολυ δ αν	
	433.	βε		βακεν		οψις		ου μεθ	
{	1090.	εкас α		ποστατ		ει -			
	1098.	χερος ο		ρεγομεν		α -			

See also *v.* 422, 1110, 1162, 1454, and 1482. Some of these can be

removed by plausible changes, some not without great violence. But there is no reason to suspect any of them.

I have reserved for separate consideration one or two places of special character or special importance.

{	421.	παρ		εστι		σιγ -		ας α		τιμος α		λοιδορ		ος -	
		α		διστος		αφεμεν		ων ιδ		ειν -					
{	437.	το		παν δ αφ		Ελλαδος		αι -		ας ξυν		ορμεν		οις -	
		πεν		θεια		τλησι		καρδι		ος -					

It will be seen that there is here no variation other than those which have been illustrated above, except the lengthening of the last syllable of ἀλοιδορος by the ictus of the verse and by the rhythmical or musical break between 'line' and 'line'. This is found again at v. 436

τωνδ νπ | ερβατ | ω τερ | ᾶ - |

and is in fact too familiar to require further notice¹. In 422 = 438 there is one variation, in 421 = 437 there are two, all of common types. And I would ask the reader to notice, as a significant testimony in favour of the MS. text, the subtle and nicely calculated balance of vv. 421 and 437. The metre of both verses is trochaic. Each verse exhibits two variations or quasi-trochees, *and the same two* (see above, §§ 1 and 3), *differently disposed in the verse*, so that the total quantity, so to speak, of each verse is exactly the same. That this delicacy of rhythm has been produced by mere blundering I cannot believe, and I therefore hold both verses correct.

{	743.	παρα		κλι -		νασ επε		κρα -		νεν δε γαμ	
				ου πικ		ρου τε		λευτας.			
{	754.	διχα δ		αλλ -		ων μονο		φρων -		ειμι το	
				γαρ -		δυσσεβες		εργον.			

Here exact correspondence may be restored by changing the order of the words (τὸ δυσσεβὲς γὰρ Pauw); and though mistakes of this kind are not nearly so common in the MSS. of verse as they are sometimes said to be, still the case is doubtful. We should notice however that the antistrophe (not the strophe) has the rhythm which we should

¹ The principle extends to the case of v. 1410 ἀπέδικες, ἀπέταμῃς | ἀπόπολις δ' ἔσει, where to produce the appearance of regularity we ought to print ἀπόπολις κτλ. in a separate line. But the arrangement of lines, which is purely arbitrary,

does not really affect the question. The break of music and rhythm, corresponding to the pause in the sense, is there, however we mark it, and is allowed to protect the final syllable of ἀπέταμῃς from abbreviation.

expect; the metre is the so-called *Ionic a minore*, one of the many forms of the lyric trochaic.

A still more doubtful problem is presented by the following :

{	990.	μάλα γάρ τοι τὰς πολλὰς ὑγείας
		ἀκόρεστον τέρμα· νόσος γὰρ
		γείτων ὁμότοιχος ἐρείδει.
	1004.	τὸ δ' ἐπὶ γὰν πεσόνθ' ἅπαξ θανάσιμον
		πρόπαρ ἀνδρὸς μέλαν αἶμα τίς ἂν
		πάλιν ἀγκαλέσταιτ' ἐπαείδων;

Here the question is embarrassed by the fact that there is undoubtedly some error, since *v.* 1004 has no construction. The correction commonly received (πεσόν Auratus) is facile but far from certain, as there is no apparent likelihood in the error supposed. It is perhaps more likely that ἐπὶ γὰν, which could well be spared, covers some neuter adjective or participle to which πεσόν τε was attached. The whole rhythm also of *vv.* 990 and 1004 is or appears to be exceptional and complicated. It is not probable that the correspondence here was strictly syllabic, but no positive conclusion is to be reached. I will note merely that the lines which can be construed as they stand can also be scanned as they stand,

991.	ακορ		εστον		τερμα νοσ		ος —		γαρ γει		των ομο	
										τοιχος ερ		ειδει.
1005.	προπαρ		ανδ —		ρος μελαν		αιμα τις		αν παλιν		αγκαλεσ	
										αιτ επα		ειδων,

and that they exhibit the same kind of balance which has been noticed in *vv.* 421 and 437.

In *v.* 249 and 1132 we have metrical irregularities which, though at first sight widely dissimilar, may perhaps be referred to the same principle. In *v.* 249 there is apparently a strange hiatus

κρόκου βαφὰς δ' ἐς πέδον χέουσα¹
ἔβαλλε κτλ.

and in *v.* 1132 a hypermetric syllable, πάθος ἐπεγχείασα answering to περοφόρον δέμας. In neither place does the sense give any hint of error, nor has either been found amenable to correction². With regard

¹ Note that a hiatus of this kind has no resemblance to those cases where at the end of the line a short syllable taking the stress of the rhythm is treated as long. This is quite common; while the examples of the other are rare and unsatisfactory.

² 249 βαφὰς...ῥεούσας Keck, χέουσ' ᾧδ' Hermann, χέουσ' ᾧδ' Kennedy, βαλοῦσ' ἑκαστον Karsten, βάλ' ᾧν ἑκαστον Ahrens.—1132 θροεῖς...ἐπεγχείας Franz etc. The conjectures (see Wecklein) are too numerous to quote. None of them give a sense so good as the *ms.* reading.

to the first, the solution is, I believe, that the short vowel actually is elided according to rule, the scansion being this :

κροκ | ου βαφ | ας δ- | ες πεδ | ον χε | ους- | ε | βαλλ etc.


answering to

260

τεχ | ναι δε | Καλ- | χαντος | ουκ α | κραντοι | δικ | α etc.


If so, the case really falls under § 1 (see above), and it may throw some light upon *v.* 1132. In mere principle there is nothing surprising in the occurrence of such a 'hypermetric' syllable as we find in *πάθος ἐπεγχέασα*. If it were common, every one would regard it as quite natural, and the wonder is that it is not. The final trochee of *πάθος ἐπεγχέασα* answers to the final long syllable of *πτεροφόρον δέμας*, or to put the same thing otherwise, the musical bar is completed by a note in the first and by a rest in the second. When the Romans first began to imitate Greek metres they abounded in such 'hypermetric' lines, as well as in lines with a superfluous 'anacrusis',¹ and the same thing is true *mutatis mutandis* of most modern versification. It is not likely *prima facie* that the most severe treatment would avoid an occasional lapse (if such it is) of this kind, and where the genuineness of the exception is supported by the meaning, it would be rash to reject it on the bare evidence of a metrical discrepancy rather apparent than real.

Lastly in those parts of the play which are written in *dochmiū*², or in metre for practical purposes not distinguishable from the dochmiac, there are a few noticeable variations. In *v.* 1408 ἐξ ἁλὸς ὀρόμενον (MS. ὀρώμενον) may be correct, though exact correspondence is restored by ὄρμενον. In *v.* 1164 (if *κακά*, as seems probable, be omitted) we have *μινυρὰ θρεομένας* answering to *γοερὰ θανατοφόρα*. The first is a not uncommon variety of *dochmius*, in which the first and second 'long' syllables are 'resolved'. The second would be an iambic trimeter with 'resolved' syllables (*γοερὰ | θανατο | φορα*): on the iambic trimeter as a variation in this metre see on the *Septem* 206, 219 etc. (*Appendix I.* p. 133 in my edition). The same variation is exhibited by M in *Ag.* 1143 ἀηδόνας μύρον, answering to *v.* 1130 κακόποτμοι τύχαι: it is not

¹ As to the superfluous 'anacrusis' see on *S. C. Th. v.* 723, Appendix I. p. 136.

² An interesting discussion of the *doch-*

mius will be found in the paper of Dr Fennell already cited, pp. 6 foll. With most of what he says I entirely agree.

certain therefore that Hermann was right in changing the order to *μόρον ἀηδόνης*.

A small question, partly metrical partly linguistic, is presented by the word *ἀκόρεστος* (*v. 1105, 1138*), where it is usual to substitute the supposed equivalent form *ἀκόρετος*. But the metrical evidence is dubious as well as the form. In *v. 1105* there is already exact responsion, if the second syllable of *ἐνύδρω* (*v. 1119*) be scanned as long. In *v. 1138*, the scansion intended, since in the dochmii of this scene the metre is generally continuous, may be *ξουθὰ 'κόρεστος*: that *'κόρεστος* might answer to *μελοτυπείς* all would admit. The general question whether in the dochmius the first iambus might be represented by an anapaest (◡ ◡ – | – | ◡ – for ◡ – | – | ◡ –) cannot be answered with certainty in the present state of the evidence.

TRANSLATION.

(For the scenery and action see the Introduction.)

A Watchman. A whole long year of watch have I prayed heaven for release, a year that, like a dog, I have made my bed in the embrace of this palace-roof, till I know all the nightly company of the stars, and chiefly those chief signs that, marked by their brightness for the princes of the sky, bring summer and winter to man, all their wanings and the risings thereof. And still I am watching for the token-flame, the beacon-blaze which is to carry the news from Troy, the tidings of the capture! This it is to be commanded by a woman, who brings her quick hopes into the business of men! When I have found my bed, rain-wetted, restless, and safer than some are from the visit of dreams (for instead of sleep comes the fear that sleeping might close my eyes for ever), and when the fancy comes to whistle or sing by way of a salve for drowsiness, then tears arise of sorrow for what hath befallen this house, now put to no such good work as in the old days. But ah, this time may the blessed release be given, the blessed beacon dawn with its message from the dark.

O joy! O welcome blaze, that showest in night as it were a dawn, thou harbinger of many a dance, that shall be set in Argos for this good hap! What ho! What ho! Lady of Agamemnon, I cry you loud. Up from the dark couch, quick, up, and raise the morning-hymn of thine house in honour of yon fire, if, as the signal doth manifestly announce, Troy town is taken indeed. Aye, and myself at least will prelude the dancing; for my score shall profit by my master's game, the treble-six, thrown me by yon fire-signal.

Well, may the king return, may I clasp his welcome hand in mine. The rest shall be unspoken (my tongue hath upon it an ox-foot weight), though the house itself, if it could find a voice, might declare it plain

enough ; for I mean to be, for my part, clear to who knows and to him who knows not blind. [*Exit.*]

Chorus of Elders. 'Tis now the tenth year sincè, to urge their powerful right against Priam, King Menelaus and King Agamemnon, the mighty sons of Atreus, paired in the honour of throne and sceptre derived from Zeus, put forth from this land with an Argive armanent, a thousand crews of fighting men, summoned to their aid.

Loud rang their angry battle-cry, as the scream of vultures who, vexed by boys in the supreme solitudes where they nest, wheel with beating pinions round and round, when they miss the young brood whose bed it was their care to watch. And the shrill sad cry of the birds is heard by ears supreme, by Apollo belike or Pan or Zeus, who to avenge the licensed sojourners of their dwelling-place, sends soon or late on the offenders the ministers of punishment. Even such ministers are the sons of Atreus, sent to punish the triumph of Paris by their mightier Zeus, guardian of hospitality, that so for a woman whom many could win there should be wrestlings many and weary, where the knee is pressed in the dust and the shaft, the spousal shaft, is snapped, between suffering Greek and Trojan suffering too.

The cause is this day no further: the end will be as it must. By no increase of fuel or libation, and by no tears, shalt thou overcome the stubbornness of a sacrifice that will not burn.

As for us, whose worn thews could not render their service, that martial gathering left us behind, and here we bide, on guiding-staves supporting our childish strength. For if the young breast, where the sap is but rising, is no better than eld but in this, that the spirit of war is not there, oh what is man, when he is more than old? His leaf is withered, and with his three feet he wanders, weak as a child, a day-lit dream.

But what of thee, daughter of Tyndareus, Queen Clytaemnestra? What chance? What news? On what intelligence, what convincing report are thy messengers gone round bidding sacrifice? To all the gods that dwell in Argos, upper and nether gods, the high gods and the low, the altars blaze with gifts, while on all sides the flames soar up to the sky, yielding to the innocent spell and soft persuasion of hallowed oil, rich from the store of kings. All this (so far as thou canst and mayest consent) do thou explain, and thus cure my present care, which vexes me now anon, although at whiles the sacrifices call up a kindly

hope and drive from my mind the unsated thought that still returns to the prey (?).

It is my right to tell—it is an encouragement upon their way permitted to them whose vigour is past, that still at their years they draw from heaven that winning inspiration, which is the strength of song,—how the twin-throned Achæan Kings, concordant leaders of Hellas' youth, were sped with avenging arm and spear to the Teucrian land by a gallant omen, when to the kings of ships appeared the black king of birds and the white-backed king together, seen near the palace on the spear-hand in conspicuous place, feasting on hares, then full of young, stayed one course short of home.

Be sorrow, sorrow spoken, but still let the good prevail!

'Then the good seer, who followed the host, when he saw how the two brave Atridae were in temper¹ twain, took cognizance of those hare-devouring birds and of the princely captains, and thus he spake interpreting: 'After long time they that here go forth must win King Priam's town, though ere they pass the wall all their cattle, their public store, shall perforce be divided and consumed. Only may no divine displeasure fore-smite and overcloud the gathering of the host, whose might should bridle Troy. For the wrath of holy Artemis rests on the house of those winged coursers of her sire, who sacrifice a trembling mother with all her young unborn. She loathes such a feast of eagles.

'Be sorrow, sorrow spoken, but still let the good prevail.

'Yea, fair one, loving though thou art unto the uncouth whelps of many a fierce breed, and sweet to the suckling young of all that roam the field, yet to this sign thou art prayed to let the event accord. Auspicious are these eagle-omens, but not without a flaw. But oh, in the blessed name of the Healer, raise thou not hindering winds, long to delay from the seas the Argive fleet; urge not a second sacrifice, foul offering of forbidden meat, which shall put hate between flesh and bone and break marital awe. For patient, terrible, never to be laid, is the wrath of the wife still plotting at home revenge for the forgotten child.'

Thus Calchas crossed his chant of high promise to the royal house from the omens of the march: and so with according burden

Be sorrow, sorrow spoken, but still let the good prevail!

'Zeus'—power unknown, whom, since so to be called is his own pleasure, I by that name address. When I ponder upon all things, I

¹ Or 'in colour'. See Appendix C.

can conjecture nought but 'Zeus' to fit the need, if the burden of vanity is in very truth to be cast from the soul. Not he, who perhaps was strong of yore and flushed with victorious pride, could now be so much as proved to have had being: and he that came next hath found his conqueror and is gone. But whoso to Zeus by forethought giveth titles of victory, the guess of his thought shall be right. And Zeus it is who leadeth men to understanding under this law, that they learn a truth by the smart thereof. The wound, where it lies dormant, will bleed, and its aching keep before the mind the memory of the hurt, so that wisdom comes to them without their will. And it is perhaps a mercy from a Power, who came by struggle to his majestic seat.

Thus it was with the Achæan ammiral, the elder of the twain. A prophet, thought he, is not to blame, so he bent before the blast. But when his folk began to weary of hindering winds and empty cask, still lying over against Chalcis, where the tides of Aulis rush to and fro, while still the gales blew thwart from Strymon, stayed them and starved them, and penned them in port, grinding the men and making of ship and tackle a prodigal waste, and with lapse of time, doubled over and over, still withering the flower of Argos away; then at last, when the prophet's voice pointed to Artemis and told of yet one more means to cure the tempest's bane, a means pressing more on the princes, which made the sons of Atreus beat their staves upon the ground and let the tear roll down:—the elder then of the twain found voice and said:

'Sore is my fate if I obey not, and sore if I must slay my child, the jewel of my home, staining paternal hands with virgin stream from the victim at the altar's side. Are not the two ways woeful both? How can I fail my fleet and lose my soldiery? For eager is their craving that to stay the winds her virgin blood should be offered up, and well they may desire it. May it be for the best!'

So, having put on his neck the harness of Necessity, his spirit set to the new quarter, impious, wicked, unholy, and from that moment he took to his heart unflinching resolve. For to put faith in the shedding of blood is an obstinate delusion, whose base suggestion is the beginning of sin. Howsoever he did not shrink from slaying a victim daughter in aid of war waged for a stolen wife, a spousal-rite to bind unto him his fleet!

Her prayers, her cries to her father, mere life-breath of a girl, the spectators, eager for war, regarded not at all. Her father, after prayer, gave word to the ministers, while casting her robes about her she bowed herself desperately down, to lift her, as it were a kid, over the altar,

and, for prevention of her beautiful lips, to stop the voice that might curse his house with the dumb cruel violence of the gag.

And she, as she let fall to earth her saffron robe, smote each one of the sacrificers with glance of eye that sought their pity, and seemed like as in a painting, fain to speak: for oft had she sung where men were met at her father's noble board, with pure voice virginally doing dear honour to the grace and blessing that crowned her father's feast.

What followed I saw not, neither do I tell. The rede of Calchas doth not lack fulfilment. Yet is it the law that only to experience knowledge should fall: when the future comes, then thou mayest hear of it; ere that, I care not for the hearing, which is but anticipating sorrow; it will come clear enough, and with it the proof of the rede itself. Enough: let us pray for such immediate good, as the present matter needs. Here is our nearest concern, this fortress, sole protection of the Argive land.

[*Enter CLYTAEMNESTRA, CONSPIRATORS, etc.*]

I am come, Clytaemnestra, in observance of thy command. 'Tis right to render obedience to the sovereign and queen, when the husband's throne is empty. Now whether tidings good or not good have moved thee by this ceremony to announce good hope, I would gladly learn from thee: though if thou would'st keep the secret, I am content.

Clytaemnestra. For 'good', as says the proverb, may the kind morn announce it from her kind mother night. But 'hope' is something short of the joy thou art to hear. The Argive army hath taken Priam's town.

An Elder. How sayest thou? I scarce caught the words, so incredible they were.

Cl. I said that Troy is ours. Do I speak clear?

Eld. 'Tis joy that surprises me and commands its tear.

Cl. Yes, 'tis a loyal gladness of which thine eye accuses thee.

Eld. And what then is the proof? Hast thou evidence for this?

Cl. I have indeed, if miracle deceive me not.

Eld. Is it a dream-sign that commands thine easy credence?

Cl. Not sight-proof would I accept from a brain bemused.

Eld. Yet canst thou have taken cheer from some uncertified presage?

Cl. Thou holdest my sense as low as it were a babe's.

Eld. And what sort of time is it since the city fell?

Cl. It fell, I say, in the night whence yonder light is this moment born.

Eld. But what messenger could arrive so quick?

Cl. The fire-god was the messenger. From Ida he sped forth the bright blaze, which beacon after beacon by courier flame passed on to us. Ida sent it first to Hermes' rock in Lemnos; and to the great bonfire on Lemnos' isle succeeded third Zeus' mountain of Athos, with such a soaring pile of wood upon it as might strengthen the travelling torch to pass joyously over the wide main; and this, with the golden light as it were of a sun, blazed on the message to the outlook on Makistos. Nor he for any delay or for overcoming sleep neglected heedlessly his messenger-part. Far over Euripus' stream came his beacon-light and gave the sign to the watchers of Messapius. These raised an answering light to pass the signal far away, with pile of withered heath which they kindled up. And the torch thus strengthened flagged not yet, but leaping, broad as a moon, over Asopus' plain to Cithaeron's scar, roused in turn the next herald of the fiery train; nor there did the sentinels refuse the far-heralded light, but made a bonfire higher than was bid, whose flying brightness lit beyond Gorgopis' water, and reaching the mount of Aegiplanctus, eagerly bade them not to slack the commanded fire. They sped it on, throwing high with force unstinted a flame like a great beard, which could even overpass, so far it flamed, the headland that looks down upon the Saronic gulf, and thus alight then, and only then, when it reached the outlook, nigh to our city, upon the Arachnaean peak; whence next it lighted (at last!) here upon our royal roof, yon light, which shows a pedigree from the fire of Ida. Such are the torch-bearers which I have ordained, by succession one to another completing the course:—of whom the victor is he who ran first and last. Such is the evidence and token I give thee, my husband's message sped out of Troy to me.

Eld. My thanksgiving, lady, to heaven shall be presently paid; but first this story—I would fain satisfy my wonder by hearing it repeated, in thy way of telling, from point to point.

Cl. Troy is this day in the hands of the Achæans! Methinks there must be sound there of voices that will not blend. Pour with the same vessel vinegar and oil, and thou wilt exclaim at their unfriendly parting. Even so their tones, the conqueror and the conquered, fall different as their fortunes upon the ear. These on the ground clasping the dead, their husbands, brothers, fathers, sons, young children weeping for gray sires, themselves enslaved, are wailing for their beloved. Those the hungry weariness of fighting and a restless night hath set to break their fast upon what is in the town, not billeted orderly, but lodging themselves forthwith, by such chance as falls to each eager hand, in the captured houses of Troy, to escape as they may

the miseries of the open air, the frosts and the dews. With no watch to keep they will sleep the whole night long.

Now must they pay due respect to the gods that inhabit the town, the gods of the conquered land, or their victory may end in their own destruction after all. Too soon belike for their safety, the soldiery, seized with greed, may yield to their covetousness and lay hands on forbidden spoil. They have still to bring themselves home, have still the backward arm of the double course to make. And if no sin against heaven rest on the returning host, there is the wrong of the dead that watches. Evil may find accomplishment, although it fall not at once.

But for all these my womanish words, may the good prevail, plainly, I say, and undoubtfully; for choosing so, I choose more blessings than one.

A Conspirator. Lady, no man could speak more kindly wisdom than thou. For my part, after the sure proof heard from thee, my purpose is now to give our thanks to the gods, who have wrought a return in full for all the pains. *[Exit Clytaemnestra.]*

Conspirators. Hail, sovereign Zeus, hail, gracious night, high is the glory thou hast won, thou night, that hast cast over the towers of Troy meshes so close, that none full-grown, nay, nor any young could pass the wide enslaving net, one capture taking them all. Zeus, god of host and guest, I confess him great, who hath wrought this vengeance for Paris' sin, though long he bent his bow, that so neither heaven-high the bolt might go, nor short of the mark might fall.

Elders. Zeus' stroke it is which they dare proclaim. This thought we may follow out. As He determines, so He accomplishes. It was said by one that the gods deign not to regard sinners, when they trample upon the grace of sacredness. But impiously was it said. It is manifested, how pregnant is the insolence of a too defiant pride, when the fulness of the house grossly exceedeth the best. And this best shall be so much, as will let a man blest with sense live of it undistressed.

For there is no defence for that man, who in the pride of wealth doth haughtily spurn the fixed foundation of Right, whereby he may be unseen: though strong is that obstinate persuasion, servant of Blindness and shaper of her decree. Remedy is all vain. Unhidden the mischief glows with a baleful light. Like base metal beneath the rub and touch, he shows the black grain under justification (for his pursuit is idle as the boy's who follows the flying bird), and leaves upon his people a fatal mark of the touching. Deaf to supplication, the gods condemn for wicked whosoever is conversant with such.

Such was the sin of Paris, who came to that house of the Atridae and

dishonoured the hospitable board by theft of the wife. Leaving to her countrymen the din of shield and spear and the arming of fleets, and bringing to Ilium ruin for her dower, she had passed with light step, careless of sin, through the gates. And oft they sighed, the interpreters of the home, as they said, 'Ah for the home! aha, for the home! Aha, and ah, for the princes thereof, for the husband's bed yet printed with her embrace. We can see him there, his curses mocked with silence, the parted spouse, the sweetest sight of them all! He shall pine for her that is far beyond sea, till he seems but a phantom lord of the house. Grace of beautiful statues the husband hateth: with the want of the eyes all the passion is gone. Dream-forms stay with him a while, convincing semblances, and offer delight in vain; for lo, when vainly he thinks to grasp the phantom, the vision escapes through his arms and is gone that instant on wings that follow the passing of sleep.'

Such was the home-sorrow ere they parted hence; and other woes they have, woes surpassing yet beyond these. And in every home of those who set forth together from Hellas' land the hearts of their women-folk ache, as ache they must, with all they have to wound them. Whom they sped forth, them they know; but it is not the man they know that comes to his home; it is but an urn and ashes. A merchant in gold is Ares, and bodies of men are his gold: in battle he holdeth his scale. He sends from Ilium dust out of his fire, a heavy gold to weeping love, powder that once was a man, now pressed into the compass of a jar.

And they lament them, telling their praises, how skilled was the dead in battle, or how bravely he shed his blood—'And all through another's wife', snarls some one in a whisper: and so there spreads a resentful anger against the quarrel of the sons of Atreus.

Others there by the town, in their own shapes, possess graves in Trojan earth, which hating them doth hide its fair possessors away.

Now when one anger moves a people, there is danger in their talk; it is a bond no less than a covenant sworn. And I am waiting in fear for a voice from the darkness of my thoughts.

For whosoever are guilty of lives, upon them God's eyes are fixed. The time comes when fortune unmerited turns to misfortune at a touch, when the dark Chastisers take the man's strength away: and once he is gone, no help for him. Glory too high is dangerous; it is upon the peak that the thunder strikes. Nay, let my happiness challenge no jealousy: and let me be no conqueror, nor see myself a conquered slave.

First Elder. The beacon hath spoken fair, and the report is

spreading swiftly among the folk; but hath it spoken true? Who knows? It is indeed miraculous,—if not false.

Second Elder. How can one be so childish, so crazed of wit, to fire with hope at a sudden message of flame, and risk the pain of altered news?

Third Elder. With woman's impulse it is natural to give indulgent credit before the proof.

Fourth Elder. She is too ready of belief, a boundary quickly passed and encroached upon; but quick to pass away is the rumour that women cry.

First Elder. 'Twill not be long ere we know of this line of torch-bearers, this beacon chain of succeeding fires, whether they be true, or whether this gladdening light, a dream-like visitor, hath beguiled the sense. Yon herald comes from the shore, I see, with his shade of olive boughs. And the information of the thirsty Dust, sister and neighbour to the Mire, assures me of this, that with something more than dumb signals of fire-smoke, more than a bonfire of wood burnt you upon a hill, he with a plain word will either explicitly bid us rejoice, or else—but the other word, for the sake of these, shall remain unspoken. May the fair appearance receive a like addition!

A Conspirator. If there be any that agrees not in this patriot prayer, let him reap himself the consequence of his mistake.

[*Enter a Herald.*]

The Herald. O native earth, O Argos, my country, hail! With the dawn of this tenth year I am come to thee, at last. Many a hope hath broken, but one I have grasped. For I never thought I should die here, in this land of Argos, and have my plot in her well-beloved soil. But now I bless¹ the land, I bless the bright sun, blessed be our Zeus supreme, and blessed he, the lord of Pytho; may he shoot his shafts not upon us any more. Long enough he came in enmity to Scamander's plain. But now be Saviour, O king Apollo, and Healer again! And the gods assembled here, I salute them all, him too, mine own protector, Hermes the Herald, whom heralds love and revere, and all the deified, them who sent forth the host, I bid them now receive it, so much as the spear hath spared. Hail royal palace, mansion beloved, and solemn seats, and deities eastward looking (and oh, how long ye have looked!); with this bright gladness in your eyes welcome

¹ An adequate translation is here impossible, because in English the forms for greeting and farewell are absolutely distinct and not (like *χαίρε* and *προσάνα-*

δαν, *προσείπείν*) common to both. The ambiguity of the Greek is an essential point. See the note on *v.* 508.

fitly the king so long away. For our prince is returned, bringing light in darkness to impart unto all that are here, even Agamemnon our king.

But ye must greet him observantly, as is his due, having digged Troy out of the earth with the mattock of Zeus the Avenger, which hath broken her soil to dust. Her foundations cannot be found, or her fixed religious fanes, and all she might grow from is perishing out of the ground. So strong compulsion hath the elder son of royal Atreus put upon Troy, and happiest of mankind he comes home. None hath such claim to requital, not one in the live world. As for Paris and his people, bound with him to payment, they cannot boast a balance of damage done. Sentenced for theft and rapine too, he hath not only lost the reprisal but also hath ruined and razed his very father's house, it and the place thereof together. Two-fold the loss the sons of Priam have paid.

An Elder. Joy to thee, herald of the coming Achæan host !

Herald.

Eld. Hast thou longed for thy native land with a torturing love ?

Her. Aye, so that for joy mine eyes weep tears upon it.

Eld. Then learn that 'tis a sweet languishing ye have taken.

Her. How so ? I need a lesson to master thy saying.

Eld. As being struck with a passion not unreturned.

Her. Argos, thou sayest, pined for her pining soldiers.

Eld. So pined, as oft to sigh for thee from a weary heart.

Her. Whence this melancholy ? Was there yet this distress reserved for us that have fought ?

Eld. For long past I have used silence to prevent hurt.

Her. But how so ? Wast thou, the kings being away, in fear of some one ?

Eld. So much that now, as thou sayest, e'en death were grateful.

Her. Yes, we have done well every way, well, for the length of time. A man must speak well of his fortune, though part be not so good. Only a god can be without trouble all his time. For were I to count our sufferings in bad quarters, the narrow and comfortless berths (and in the day-time miserable for want of everything), and other miseries by land (and there it was worse, our camp being close to the enemy's wall), how the sky rained, and the dews from the marshy ground, ever rotting our garments and breeding foul life upon us : or were one to count the winter's cold, made so intolerable by the snows of Ida that the birds fell dead, or the heat, when in his noon-day rest the sea sank windless and waveless to sleep—but what

need to grieve for these things? The pain is past; so past for the dead, that they care not so much as to rise up any more. Ah why should we count the number of the slain, when the living suffer by fortune's persistency? A full release from chance is also, say I, something worth. And for us who are left of the Argive host, the gain on the balance overweighs the hurt, seeing that yon bright sun may proclaim in our honour, winging our fame over land and sea, 'Troy in old time was won by an Argive armament: and these are the spoils which, to the glory of the gods throughout Hellas, they nailed upon the temples for a monumental pride.' Hearing this, men must needs praise Argos and them that led her host; and the grace of Zeus that wrought it all shall be paid with thanks. And so I have said my say.

Eld. Defeat in argument I do not deny. To be teachable is a thing that ages not with age. But the household and Clytaemnestra, whom this news should most nearly interest, must share the gain with me.

Clytaemnestra (entering). My joy was uttered some while ago, when the first fiery messenger came in the night, telling that Ilium was taken and destroyed. Then there were some who found fault with me, and said, 'Art thou for a beacon persuaded to think that Troy is taken now? How like a woman's heart to fly up so high!' Thus they argued, proving my error. But for all that I would sacrifice; and by womanly ordinance the townfolk one and all took up the loud cry of holy gladness and in the sacred temples stilled with feeding incense the fragrant flame.

And now, for the fuller tale, what need I to take it from thee? From the king himself I shall learn it all. Rather, that I may bring my revered lord with swift return to my loving reception—what light more sweet to the eyes of a wife than this, when she opens the gate to her husband, restored by heaven safe from war?—take thou back to my lord this message: let him come with all speed to the people that love him, come to find in his home the wife faithful, even such as he left her, a very house-dog, loyal to one and an enemy to his foes; aye, and in all else unchanged, having never broken seal at all in this long while. I know of pleasure or scandalous address from any other no more than of dyeing bronze. [*Exit.*]

A Conspirator. Self-praise like this, filled full with its truth, it doth not misbeseem a noble wife to sound.

An Elder. What she hath said and they admire thou by their plain comment dost understand.

But herald, say thou : I would know of Menelaus, our well-loved king, this only, whether he hath returned safe and will arrive with you.

Her. It were impossible, if I told a false tale fair, that as time goes on, your love should enjoy it still !

Eld. Oh, that thy true tale might be happily told ! 'Tis not easy to hide, when good and true are parted.

Her. The prince is gone from the Achæan host, himself and his ship also. It is the truth.

A Conspirator. Did he put forth in your sight from Ilium ? Or was he snatched from the rest by a storm which fell upon all ?¹

Her. Thou hast, like a master bowman, hit the mark, and put a length of trouble in a brief phrase.

Eld. What then of the prince ? Did the general rumour of the voyagers declare him living or dead ?

Her. None can tell that for certain, save one only, the Sun that sustaineth life over all the earth.

Eld. And what from first to last was the story of the storm, thus sent on the fleet by angry gods ?

Her. A day sacred to joy should not be fouled by the tongue of evil tidings. Religion sunders the two. When one with sad countenance brings to a people heavy tidings of an army fallen, the state wounded with one great national grief and many a home robbed of its single victim by Ares' fork, his weapon beloved, two-headed, horrible, red in both prongs with blood ; he that beareth such a pack of woe may well say a hymn to those who punish. But when one cometh with tidings of deliverance to a folk rejoicing in happiness—how shall I mingle this good with that ill, with a tale of storm, at which our national gods must needs be displeased ?

A conspiracy there was between two that had been utter foes, between fire and sea, and for pledge and proof of their league they destroyed the hapless men of Argos. In darkness it was done, which

¹ I have here assigned these lines, as I think they belong, to the speaker of vv. 618—619. The Herald is surprised, as well he may be, at the rapidity with which the questioner, out of a hundred possibilities, lights upon the exact truth. But as a fact this questioner has the same knowledge of the facts which Clytaemnestra exhibits before the Herald's arrival, and his question is put merely in the hope of cutting this dangerous conversa-

tion short. Clytaemnestra does her best to send the Herald away at once. She then departs, because she dares not expose herself to questions, and the Elders detain the Herald to ask about Menelaus. Even now they are not to be satisfied till they have had the story. The common arrangement (as in the text) is possible, but in my judgment much injures the truth and point of the scene.

swelled the agony to its height; for the ships were dashed one against another by Thracian winds, till butting violently beneath the storm of the hurricane and the beating rain of the surge they fled away and away, lashed round by their cruel driver. And when the bright dawn rose, we saw on the Ægean corpses thick as flowers, our dead and wreck of our ships. As for ourselves and our ship, yet whole in hull, we were stolen away or, may be, were begged off by some one more than human, who took her helm. Fortune, to save us, was pleased to ride aboard of her, and keep her alike from taking in the surging water between her planks and from running upon rocks. So having escaped a watery grave, there in the white day, scarce sure of our good fortune, we brooded melancholy upon our altered case, our host undone and utterly dashed to pieces. And at this moment if any of them is living and draws breath, they are doubtless speaking of us as lost, while we imagine the same case for them. But let us hope the best.

For Menelaus then, be it first supposed and soonest, that he got home. And at worst, if any where the sun's ray is discovering him, Zeus, we may hope, who cannot mean to destroy his offspring quite, will contrive to bring him alive and well to his home again. So much is all I can warrant you for fact. [Exit.]

The Elders. Who can have given that name, so to the very letter true? Was it some unseen power, who by foreknowledge of fate guided his tongue aright, that named the woman wooed with battle and spear by the name of Helen? She proved her name indeed upon ship and men and peoples, when from the delicate veils of her costly bower she passed over sea before the gale of the felon West, and after her a great hunt of shielded soldiers, following by the vanished track of the oar a quarry landed on Simois' banks, whose woods were to be wasted by their bloody fray.

A bride? A sorrowful bride she was to Ilium, pursued by sure-remembering wrath, destined one day to avenge the dishonour of the board, and of Zeus the sanctifier of the feast, upon those that gave significant honour to that bridal music, the marriage-hymn of the groomsmen, their vantage of an hour. The aged city of Priam hath learnt an altered song, a burden surely of loud lamentation, and finds for the wedded Paris an evil name; for burdened with lamentation have been all her weary days till this for the miserable slaughter of her people.

A shepherd man in his house brought up a lion's whelp, weaned from the teat, a hungry suckling. Gentle it was in its infant days of love, made friends with youth, drew smiles from gravity's self.

And many a thing it got when, like a nursing-child embraced, it fixed a bright eye on the hand and fawned for its belly's need. But after a time it showed the way that was born in it; for it paid thanks for its rearing by bloody ravage of the flock, making a feast unbidden; and the house was dabbled with gore, and the house-folk helpless in agony, and wide was the murderous waste. God sent it to that dwelling with a mission of ravage therein.

Even so came, would I say, to Ilium what seemed to fancy a windless calm, a darling of rich indolence¹, whose gentle eye shot that soft bolt, which pricks from the heart the flower of love. But swerving from that, she made them rue in the end that she was won, blasting with her companionship the ruined house of Priam's sons, whither the god of guest-plight sped and conducted her, a fiend to wed and repent.

It is an ancient maxim, made long ago among men, that wealth of man, grown big, gets offspring of its body before it die, and that of good fortune the natural scion is unappeasable woe. But I think not with the generality. It is in truth the impious deed, which after begetteth more, and like to its own kind. The house that keepeth righteousness, fair is the generation thereof for ever. But it is the way of old pride to beget in the wicked soon or late, when the destined hour arrives for the youthful birth, a young pride and the kindred spirit (?) of insolence, godless, resistless, masterless, black curses both to the mansion and like their parents both.

But righteousness shineth in sooty dwellings and prizeth the modest man. If the palace is gilt but foul the hands, with eyes averted she goes thence to the pure home, disdaining the might of wealth mis-stamped with praise. And she guideth all to the goal.

[Enter AGAMEMNON, CASSANDRA, etc.]

See now, O sovereign, Troy's conqueror, Atreus' son, how shall I address thee? How pay thee homage neither above nor short of due complaisance?

Many rate semblance above reality, and do injustice so. Sighs for the suffering all have ready, although of the outward grief none touches the heart; and they copy the looks of him that laughs, putting force upon faces where no smile is. But he that knoweth the points of a man is sure to detect when the human eyes, which pretend to glisten with kindness, are flattering him with a love that is but water.

Thou in past time, while warring still for Helen's sake (frankly be it said) didst make an ungracious figure in mine eyes, didst seem an

¹ Reading ἀκασκάλων and adopting Hesychius. But with ἀκασκαῖον τ' the gloss ἡσυχῶν (*securorum*) from sense may be much the same.

undexterous steersman to thy wits, that thou for a willing wanton would'st spend the lives of men. But now we contemplate thee with riper judgment and less unkind. Happy the labour that is happily done. Thou wilt learn by inquisition hereafter, who here at home hath done his duty, and who hath mis-spent the time.

Agamemnon. To Argos first my salutation is due, and to the gods that inhabit here, who have aided me to my home-coming and the justice which I have taken of Priam's town. For they, having heard the mortal argument which with main force we pleaded for Troy's destroying, put their votes undivided into the vase for blood, while to the opposite urn hope of the hand came nigh, yet it was not filled. By her smoke the conquered city is conspicuous even yet. Life in the ruin pants, and from the expiring ash is breathed a reek of richness. For all this there must be paid to the gods a memorable return, even as the fine is great, which our wrath hath taken, since for one woman stolen a city hath been laid level by the fierce beast of Argos, the foal of the horse, the folk of the shield, that launched himself with a leap in the season of the Pleiads' fall. Over the wall he sprang and, like a lion fleshed, lapped his fill of proud princes' blood¹.

Now, having given to religion this ample precedence, I come to thee and thy feelings. I remember what I have heard. I am with thee, and support thine accusation. Rare among men are they to whom it is natural to love and admire the fortunate without envying. The poison of ill-will settles to the heart and doubles the load of him that has aught amiss: at once his own sorrows press upon him and he sighs to see the other's happiness. I may speak with knowledge, having learnt thoroughly that mirror of friendship, image of a shadow, the hypocrites' semblance of devotion to me. Ulysses only, Ulysses, who joined the fleet against his will, I found, being once in harness, mine own right horse. That I will say for him living or dead.

[*Enter CLYTAEMNESTRA*².]

And for the rest, the affairs of state and religion too in general

¹ We want a better word for *τύραννος* than English supplies. *Despot* or *tyrant* is too specific and would not here do at all; and yet the distasteful sound of the word to Greek ears is almost always important, and here especially so. It is not accurate to say, as is sometimes said, that the dramatists habitually use *τύραννος*, *τυραννίς* etc. without regard to their associations. They scarcely ever do so,

and for the *Agamemnon*² at least the words have their full and worst meaning (see *vv.* 1354, 1633). The Asiatic royalty of Priam might of course be called a *τυραννίς*, and the displeasing title suits the tone of the speaker. To the conspirators it is only too suggestive.

² See on *vv.* 903, 904. The king does not perceive her, till at the end of his speech he turns to enter the palace,

assembly summoned together we will debate ; where we must take such counsel that what is well may endure so and abide, while as for what must have medicinal remedy, we will do our kind endeavour with lancet or cautery to defeat the mischief of the sore.

For the moment, I go to mine house and private chambers, where my hand's first greeting must be to the gods, who sent me forth and have brought me back. May victory, as she hath attended me, constantly abide with me still !

Clytaemnestra. Townsmen of Argos, her noblest present here, what love I have practised toward my husband my modesty will let me declare to you. With time men lose their fear.

Upon no witness but mine own I can say, how weary were my days all the long while my lord lay before Ilium. A sore grief it is in itself, for a woman without a man to sit in the empty throne of the house, with ever persistent flatteries at her ear, and one coming after another with loud tidings of woe to the house each worse than the last. As for wounds, if my lord was wounded as often as the conduits of fame brought news of it, he hath holes in him more in number than a net. And had he died, as report thereof multiplied, he might, with three bodies like another Geryon, have boasted many times three—not beds, but coverlets rather of earth taken on to him, if he had had one death for each of his shapes. Such, ever present at mine ear, were the rumours that put me many times to the hanging noose, which others, preventing my eagerness, loosed from my neck.

This is indeed why the boy Orestes, he who might best make confidence between thee and me, is not, as he should be, here ; be not surprised. He is in the special care of our ally, Strophius of Phocis, who warned me of double mischief, the peril first of thee before Ilium, and the chance that noisy rebellion from below might risk a plot against us, as it is native to man to spurn the more him that is down. The excuse however is such as cannot have guile in it.

But as for me, the fountains of my tears have run themselves dry, and there is no drop there. With watching late mine eyes are sore, with weeping for thine attendance of torch-bearers neglected still. The droning gnat with lightest flutter would wake me from dreams, in which I saw thee pass through more than the time of my sleep.

Now, after all this misery, in the relief of my soul, I would hail this my husband as a watch-dog to the fold, the ship's securing stay, the high roof's grounded pillar, the father's sole-born child ; or as a land espied by mariners in despair, dawn as it looks most beautiful after storm, a flowing spring to the thirsty wayfarer,—but everywhere

escape from distress is sweet; let these then stand for types of my salutation. And let jealousy refrain, seeing how much was the woe we endured before.

But now, I pray thee, beloved, step from this car—but not on the earth, king¹, set that foot of thine, which has humbled Troy. Slaves, why delay ye to do your commanded office, and strow the ground of his way with coverings? In a moment let the laid path be turned to purple, that to a home unexpected he may have conduct due.

‘And for the rest’, a vigilance never laid asleep shall order it as just providence, I trust, intends².

Ag. Daughter of Leda, who hast my house in charge, if to the measure of my absence thou hast stretched the length of thy address, still, for a modest praise, the honour should proceed from some other lips. For the rest, offer no womanish luxuries to me, nor before me, as before a king of the East, grovel with open-mouthed acclaim, nor with vestures strown draw¹ jealous eyes upon my path. To the gods these honours belong. To tread, a mortal, upon fair fineries is to my poor thoughts a thing of fear. Give me I say the worship not of thy god but of thy lord. No foot-cloths, no false refinements, need proclaim what rumour cries. An unpresumptuous mind is God’s greatest gift: happy let him be called, who has come prosperously to the end. And that such will be ever my rule is the confidence for me.

Cl. Come answer, saving thy judgment, one question from me—

Ag. My judgment, be assured, is fixed beyond change by me.

Cl.—Didst thou bind thyself belike, in some hour of terror, to this observance?

Ag. Never was last word spoken on better reflexion than this.

Cl. What had Priam done, thinkest thou, if he had achieved the same?

Ag. He had made him a fine fair path, I am very sure.

Cl. Then let not blame of men make thee ashamed.

Ag. But the voice of the multitude is a mighty thing.

Cl. Aye, but who moves no jealousy wins no envy.

Ag. To love contention is not a woman’s part.

¹ I suspect that the MS. here has preserved the letters (*αναξ*) correctly and that we should write not *ᾠναξ* but *ἄναξ*, the vocative with the article, often used in abrupt and peremptory apostrophe. She stops him in the act of descending.

² The note here is not quite clear and

perhaps expresses more doubt of the text than I intend. I mean only to object to the construction of *ειμαρμένα* as a predicate with *θήσει*. Properly divided and constructed I do not find the words open to any objection.

Cl. Nay, but the great may e'en yield a point with grace.

Ag. Thou plainly, no less than I, thinkest the point worth fight.

Cl. Yield : I constrain thee ; let it be with consent.

Ag. Then, if this be thy will, quick, let one loose my shoes, these trodden slaves to the serving foot.—Even with these bare soles, as I walk the sacred purple, I hope no distant eye may give me an evil glance. It is shame enough¹ to stain with the stain of human feet textures of price, purchased for silver.

Of this enough. But here is one, whom thou must receive into the house with kindness. A gentle master wins from the distant eye of God an approving glance ; for none takes willingly to the yoke of a slave. This damsel was the choice flower of a rich treasure, bestowed by the soldiers upon me, with whom she goes.

And now, since I am reduced to obey thee herein, I will proceed to the palace along your purple path².

Cl. There is a sea (and who shall drain it dry?) which hath in it purple enough, precious as silver, oozing fresh and fresh, to dye vestures withal. And we have, O king, I trust, a chamber of such from which to take thereof, our house being unacquainted with poverty. Vestures plenty would I have devoted to the trampling, had it been proposed to me in some temple of divination, when I was devising means to bring this dear life back. It is the root of the house, whereby the leaves arrive that make a shade overhead against the dog-star. Yes, now, at thy coming to the familiar hearth, thy winter-coming betokens warmth, and when Zeus from the grape's sourness is making wine, then it is to the home like a sudden coolness to be visited by the crowned lord thereof.

[*Exit Agamemnon.*

Zeus, Zeus, who crownest all, crown but my prayer and let thy providence do even what thou wilt.

[*Exit Clytemnestra.*

The Elders. Why is it that so constantly my auguring soul shows at the door this fluttering sign, and the prophet-chant offers itself without bidding or fee? Canst thou not spit it away, like an unexplainable dream, and reach such willing trust as the mind is glad to rest upon? Yet time hath heaped the sands of the shore upon the anchor-stones, since the naval host set forth to Troy : and they are returned, mine own eyes tell me so. But yet, as without the lyre, my bosom repeats that dirge of Doom, unlearned and self-inspired, unable to grasp in full the welcome assurance of hope. It cannot be for naught, the throb

¹ See *vv.* 950, 1655 etc.

² I have inserted the word *your* as some compensation for the loss of em-

phasis, given in Greek by the position and mere sound of the words πορφύρας πατών.

that with meaning recurrence the heart repeats to the unmistakable breast. But I pray my false expectation may lose itself in void.

Too true it is, that the health which abounds encroaches; for sickness is its neighbour right up to the wall: and human fortune, running straight, will strike on a hidden reef. And as to the saving of goods, fear, discharging the measured scale (?), may keep the whole house from sinking under an over-freight of riches, and the boat from going down. (Rich we know and abundant is the gift of Zeus, and rids the plague of hunger out of the annual field.) But as for a man's red blood, once shed from his dying body upon the ground, who with incantation may call it back? Nay, not the straitest in virtue may be called from the dead without sin!

And were it not that one god's purpose doth check and limit another's decree, my heart outrunning my tongue would have poured these bodings forth: but now she mutters in darkness, vexed and hopeless ever to wind off her task in time, and stirring the fire within me.

[*Enter CLYTAEMNESTRA.*]

Clytaemnestra. Come in with thee, thou also; Cassandra, thou: since Zeus of his mercy hath set thee in a house, where thou mayest share the holy water in thy place with the crowd of slaves at the altar of stead and store. Descend from the car, and be not proud. They say that Alcmena's son himself was sold and still bore up in spite of the slave's low fare. If it so fall that one needs must take that state, masters not new to wealth are a thing to be thankful for. They to whom a rich pile hath come by surprise are to their slaves cruel always and over-strict. From us thou art receiving what custom bids.

An Elder. 'Tis to thee she speaks, and plainly. She waits for thee. And may-be, since thou art in the toils of fate, thou should'st obey, if it may be,—though, may-be, thou wilt not.

Cl. Nay, if her foreign tongue is anything less unintelligible than a swallow's twitter, my reason urged is spoken within her understanding.

Eld. Go with her. She urges what, as things are, is best. Obey, arise, and leave the chariot.

Cl. I have no leisure, you may know, to be thus dallying abroad. For at the hearth, 'the central hearth', there are victims standing already for the sacrifice of the fire—since of the present joy there was no expectation! And thou, if thou wilt take part in this, must not delay. If for want of understanding thou takest not what I say, then with thy foreign hand converse instead of voice.

Eld. An interpreter, and a plain one, the strange lady doth indeed seem to want. She hath the air of a beast new-taken.

Cl. Aye, mad she is, and listens to her folly. She comes here from a new-taken town, and yet she has not the sense to bear the bridle, until she foam her humour away in blood! But I will waste words no more, to be so scorned! [*Exit.*]

Eld. And I, for I pity her, will not be angry. Come now, unhappy, come down from where thou ridest and take on thee willingly the new yoke of hard fate.

Cassandra. Ah!...O God!...Apollo, O Apollo!

Eld. What means this sad cry on the name of Loxias? It suits him not to meet a singer so melancholy.

Cass. Ah!...O God!...Apollo, O Apollo!

Eld. Once more the ill-omened cry, and upon that¹ god, one all unfit for a scene of lamentation!

Cass. Apollo, God of the Gate, a very Apollo to me! Thou hast more than proved thy name, before and now again.

Eld. She will prophesy, methinks, upon her own miseries. The soul retains that gift, when all but that is slave.

Cass. Apollo, God of the Gate, a very Apollo to me! Ah, where, where hast thou led me? Oh, what house should this be?²

Eld. The palace of Atreus sure it is. That, if thou conceivest it not, I tell to thee: and thou canst not say it is false.

Cass. Ah no, ah no, an abominable place, full of guilty secrets...yea, of unnatural murderers...aye verily, a place of human sacrifice, sprinkled with blood of babes!

Eld. The strange woman doth indeed seem keen as a hound upon a scent. She is on a track of murder where she will find.

Cass. Yes, there is the evidence that I trust upon! See yonder babes, weeping their sacrifice, their flesh roasted and eaten by their sire!

Eld. We had heard of thy fame as prophetess, had heard of it: we seek none to speak for thee.

Cass. Oh God!...What is this, what purpose of strange woe, horrible, horrible, that she purposeth here within? The fate of her nearest, fate beyond remedy, and no help nigh!

Eld. This prophesying is beyond my knowledge. The other I knew, for all the town is loud with it.

Cass. O cruel! Wilt thou do it? The partner of thy bed, wilt

¹ τὸν is demonstrative.

² It is hard, if not impossible, to preserve perfectly the ambiguity of the Greek

between *To what a house?*, as the words are meant, and *To what house?*, as the hearers understand them.

thou cleanse him with lustration, and then—O, how can I say it? Aye, soon it will be done. She is reaching forth, she is stretching hand after hand!

Eld. I understand not yet. Then hints, now oracles blind perplex me still.

Cass. Ah!.....

What appeareth now? Surely a net of Death? Nay, rather the snare is she, who shared the bed, who shares the crime. Now let the Chorus of Death, who thirst for the blood of the race, raise their ritual cry over their victim stoned.

Eld. What fiend is this, whom thou biddest sing triumph over this house? Thou lookest not glad thyself at the word. Pale is the drop that runs to thy heart, even such as from a mortal wound drips slow and slower when life's light sets and death is coming quick.

Cass. Ah! Ah! See, see!.....

Keep the bull from the cow! She hath caught him in a vesture and gores him with her black, crafty horn. He falls in a vessel of water. In a treacherous murderous caldron is done the thing I tell thee.

Eld. I cannot boast high skill in judging words inspired; but these I judge to figure some ill. But by this way what good word ever is sent to man? It is all ill, a skill of manifold phrases, offering for knowledge a terrifying chant.

Cass. Alas, alas, for the hapless doom of a wretch, for mine own fate! It shall have its drop in the lament.

Where is this thou hast brought me, a hapless wretch, just only to die with thee, and nothing more?

Eld. Thou art in some sort crazed by the god who hurries thy thoughts, and wailest thyself in a wild tune, like some brown nightingale, that with singing never sated laments, alas, heart-sore, for Itys, Itys all her sorrow-filled days.

Cass. Ah, the fate of the musical nightingale! For her the gods did clothe in a winged form, a sweet passage and a tearless, while I must be parted by the steel's sharp edge.

Eld. Whence sent, by what power imposed, is thy vain agony, that thou shapest that fearful song with words so hard and harsh and yet with a march so clear? How findest thou the terms of woe which guide thine inspired way?

Cass. Alas, for the bridal of Paris, the doom of his kin! Ah, sweet Scamander, my native stream! Once on thy banks, ah me, was I nursed and grew. But now by the River of Wailing, aye, and of Woe, my prophet-voice, methinks, will be uttered soon.

Eld. What is this word thou hast spoken, only too plain? A man new-born might understand. I bleed beneath the wound of the piteous singer's breaking misery, which shatters me to hear it.

Cass. Alas, for the labour of Troy, Troy destroyed utterly! Alas, for my father's sacrifices in her behalf, so many grazing victims slain! They served not at all to save the town from such fate as now it hath; and I, the sick-brained, I shall soon be sent after the wise.

Eld. Thy latter words go along with those before. Some power there is who with over-bearing press maddens thee to sing of sorrows tending to death, though the end I cannot see.

Cass. See now, my prophecy shall not any more be like a bride new-wed looking forth from a veil. It shall come in bright as a fresh wind blowing toward sunrise and rolling wave-like against the light a woe far higher than this now. My teaching shall be by riddles no longer. And be ye witnesses with how close a scent I run in the track of the crimes done long ago.

For out of that house there never departs a choir of voices in unison not sweet, for the words are not fair. Aye, and they have drunk, to be the bolder, of human blood, and in the house they abide, hard to be turned away, a rout of sister-fiends. They besiege the chambers and sing their song, with still-repeated burden denouncing the hated sin of him who defiled a brother's bed.

Have I missed? Or do I at all take observation like one that aimeth a shot? Or am I a false prophet, who babbles from door to door? Bear witness, swearing first, that I do verily know the ancient sins in the story of this house.

Eld. And how could an oath do good, being framed in its nature to hurt? But I find it strange in thee, that bred beyond the sea thou should'st be as right about an alien city, as if thou hadst been there present.

Cass. The prophet-god it was who gave me this power, for...The time hath been when I dared not speak of it.

Eld. For Apollo's self desired thee. Was it so? We are all more delicate in prosperity.

Cass. Yea, then, he wrought with me, and mighty was his charm.

Eld. And came ye too to the deed of kind in natural course?

Cass. I promised, but kept not faith with Loxias.

Eld. And had he won thee with inspiration already given?

Cass. Yes, already I prophesied to my people all that befell them.

Eld. And how could the wrath of Loxias reach thee then?

Cass. After I did that wrong, I could never make any believe me.

Eld. To us however thou seemest a prophet worthy belief.

Cass. Ah !...Oh agony!

Again the fearful pangs of present vision¹ grow on me, whirling my soul in a confused beginning of—There !...Sitting there !...do ye see them? Sitting before the house !...young children, like forms in a dream.

As infants slain by their parents they appear, their hands full of that meat of which he ate, whose own flesh it was, carrying, oh pitiable burden!, the hearts and inward parts, of which their father tasted.

And hence the vengeance, plotted, I tell you, now by a certain lion of a craven sort, who haunting the couch hath watched at home for him, alas, who is come, who is lord—for the slave must bear the yoke—of me. Little he knows, the destroyer of Ilium, captain of a lost fleet, how the tongue of that lewd creature hath spoke and ‘stretched’, with joyful thoughts her ‘plea’ (her cast!) of treacherous death, and fatally shall reach him! So bold the crime, a woman to slay the man!

She is—ah what should the loveless monster be fitly called? A dragon, a Scylla, housed in the rocks, the mariner’s bane, offering her fell sacrifices, like a priestess of Death, even while in the prayer of her soul her husband hath no part. And how the bold wretch raised her cheer, as at the turn of battle, pretending to be glad of the safe coming-home!

And of this how much is believed, it matters not. What is to be will come, nay, soon thou present thyself wilt say with compassion ‘A prophet only too true!’

Eld. Thyestes’ feast of children’s flesh I understood, and shuddered. Truly ’tis more than semblance, and it makes me afraid to hear it. But in what else was said I am thrown out of the track.

Cass. I say that thou wilt see Agamemnon dead.

Eld. O hush, poor creature, hush thy profane lips!

Cass. Nay, it is not as a Saviour that he directs this sentence.

Eld. No indeed, if he will be present; but I trust it shall not be so.

Cass. While thou prayest against them, they are busy to slay.

Eld. Who is the man who is contriving this woe?

Cass. Thou must indeed have looked far wide of what I showed.

¹ By the peculiar word *ὁρρομαντεία* was probably meant in the language of *μαντική* not *true divination* but *direct divination*, that is a communication in

which the object becomes, as in this case, perceptible to the actual senses of the *μάντις*.

Eld. 'Tis that I understand not the plan of him who should do it.

Cass. See now, I know the speech of Hellas, only too well.

Eld. Greek are the Pythian oracles, and yet hard to understand.

Cass. Oh, this burning fire !... It is creeping over me !... Ah mercy, Apollo Lycæus, mercy upon me !¹

See the lioness two-footed, that couches with the wolf while the noble lion is away ! She will slay me, wretch that I am ! Brewing as it were a medicine for her wrath, she will add to it also the recompense for me. She vows as she sharpens her man-slaying sword, to take of him for the bringing of me a bloody revenge.

Why then in derision of myself do I bear these, and the sceptre of divination, and the stole about my neck ?

Thee at least I will destroy ere I perish myself !

Down, cursed things, to the ground, where thus I take vengeance upon you ! Because ye have been my ruin, die ye too, so as ye may.

But see, Apollo himself, stripping from me the prophet's vesture ! He hath had the spectacle of me exposed, even in and along with this sacred garb, to the derision of friend and foe alike, and in vain—yes, 'mountebank, beggar, starveling' were the names, alas, that vagabond-like I had to bear : and now the Seer hath finished my seership and brought me to die like this, where there awaits me not the altar of my home but a butcherly block for a victim struck before the last blood is cold.

Yet not unregarded of heaven shall we die. For there shall come another yet to requite for us, one born to slay his mother, to avenge his sire. Exiled from this land, a wanderer disowned, he shall return, to put on this tower of unnatural crimes that pinnacle, whereto his father's death is the leading spire².

I am come to my 'home', and why thus wail ? Since I saw first Ilium meet the fate it hath, and now they, who were her captors, are brought by the gods of their choice to their present pass, I will go meet fate, will take death patiently, because the gods with a mighty oath have sworn it !

¹ On the use of the title *Lycæus* here, somewhat in the sense of *ἀντήλιος, προσ-τατήριος*, see Prof. Jebb on *Soph. O. T.* 204. As the name also conventionally imported protection, it is in itself an appeal for mercy, and at the same time portends, as it were, the *λύκος* of the coming vision. It is in fact one of

those master-strokes of language which can be felt but not explained.

² These terms of modern architecture by no means fit as well as those of the original, but I can do no better. Translation in such a case is more than commonly helpless.

Only I greet this door as the portal of Death, and my prayer is to receive a mortal stroke, that the blood-stream may flow easy, and I may not struggle but close mine eyes.

Eld. O woman patient as miserable! When all this is spoken, yet now, if verily thou dost know thine own death, why goest thou to it, stubbornly as the ox, which the god moves toward the altar?

Cass. There is no escape, friends, none, when the time is full.

Eld. Yea, but the last of the time is best.

Cass. The day is come. Little shall I gain by flight.

Eld. Then be assured, that thou hast a stubborn patience!

Cass. So praised is never any save the unhappy.

Eld. Yet a mortal may be glad to die with honour.

Cass. Ah father, to think of thee and those, thy genuine children!...

Eld. What is it? What horror turns thee back?

Cass. O foul, O foul!

Eld. What callest thou foul, if the loathing be not in thy fancy?

Cass. 'Tis the horror of dripping blood, that the house exhales.

Eld. Nay, nay: it is the scent of the hearth-sacrifice.

Cass. It is such a reek as might come out of a grave.

Eld. Thou canst not mean the sweet incense of the palace¹.

Cass. Yet I will go, and within, as here, will wail the fate of me and of Agamemnon. Enough of life!

Oh friends, my friends!

I do not clamour for naught as a bird that dreads a bush. Bear this witness to me dead, when some day for my death another woman shall die, and for the hapless husband another fall². This office I ask of you at the point to die.

Eld. Ah miserable, I pity thee for thy death foretold!

Cass. I would speak one speech more—or is it mine own dirge? To the sun I call, unto the last I see, that those my avengers may take of these my enemies a bloody vengeance also for the easy conquest of a poor slain slave.

Alas for the state of man! If happiness may be changed as it were by a shade, misery is a picture which at the dash of the wet sponge is gone. And this I say is the more pitiable by far. [*Exit.*]

¹ Literally, 'It is not the Syrian sweetness of the house which you describe'. But perhaps this verse should be read as a question, 'Dost thou not mean the spicy incense?'

² The Greek implies, what cannot with equal simplicity be conveyed in English, that both (Agamemnon and Aegisthus) are *ἄνδρες* to the same *γυνή*.

The Elders. Prosperity in all men doth naturally crave more. Though the palace be pointed at by jealous fingers, none forbidding shuts fortune out with these words 'Enter no more'.

And so to the king the gods have given to take the town of Priam, and he comes honoured of heaven to his home: yet now if he must pay for the blood of those before, if adding death to deaths he is to crown the pile with yet other deaths in revenge, who hearing this could affirm that any mortal is born with fortune beyond harm?

Agamemnon (within). Oh, I am struck, deep-struck and mortally!

Eld. Silence! Who shrieks as wounded with a mortal stroke?

Ag. Again, oh again! Another stroke!

Eld. The deed, I doubt, is done, from the cries of the king. But let us give each other safe counsel, if we may.

The Elders in succession.

1. I give you mine own judgment, that we summon a rescue of the townfolk to the palace.

2. Nay, I think we had best dash in at once, and prove the deed by the dripping sword.

3. And I too am with this judgment so far¹, that my vote is for action. It is no moment for delay.

4. There is occasion to beware. Their beginning betokens a plan to enslave the city.

5. Yes, because we linger! They, while she hesitates, tread her honour down and work unresting.

6. I know not what advice I may find to say. To a doer it belongs to advise about the doing.

7. I too am of like mind, for I see not how with words to raise up again the dead.

8. Are we to make death of life, thus yielding to the rule of those that have thus defiled a house?

9. Nay, 'tis intolerable, nay, death is better. It is a milder fate than to be enslaved.

10. Are we then indeed by inference from a cry to divine that the prince hath perished?

11. Best know the facts before we hear each other talk. Guessing and knowing are two things.

¹ Literally 'share a judgment like this'.

12. All sides support me in assenting to this, to have clear knowledge how it is with Atreus' son.

Clytaemnestra. If now I contradict all that to suit the moment I said before, I shall feel no shame. What shame should he feel, who plots as a foe against a foe? With the semblance of friendship let him make his dangerous snare too high to be overleaped.

For me, I have had long enough to prepare this wrestle for victory, though it has come at last. I stand where I struck, over the finished work. And such I made the death (I will own this also) as to forbid escape or resistance, a net unpassable, like the fisherman's round a shoal, a rich robe deadly dyed¹. Twice I smote him, and with two shrieks he let himself sink down. And when he had fallen, I gave him yet a third stroke, an offering of thanks to the nether god, to Hades, safe keeper of the dead. With that he lay and himself gasped away his breath. And as he blew the spurts of his running blood, he rained upon me a crimson² gory dew, and I rejoiced no less than beneath the sweet rain of heaven doth the corn when it bursts from the labouring sheath.

So stands the case, ye nobles of Argos here; be glad of it, if ye will; for me, I triumph upon it. And could there be case fit for a libation over the dead, justly and more than justly now would it be. With so many imprecations of suffering homes this man hath filled the bowl which himself returning hath drained.

Eld. We are astonished that thy mouth bears so bold a tongue, to boast over thy dead lord in such terms.

Cl. Ye challenge me, supposed an unthinking woman. But I speak with unshaken courage to those who know, indifferent whether thou choosest to praise or blame. This is Agamemnon, my husband, wrought to death by the just handicraft of this my hand. So stands the case.

Cho. What poison hast thou taken, woman, what drug born of the earth or draught from the great water, that thou hast brought on thyself the fury and the loud curses of yon folk? Thou hast cut off,

¹ For the suggestion conveyed by the language here see on v. 949.

² Literally 'dark-coloured', but modern

habit would demand more distinction of colour.

cast off¹: and cast from communion shalt thou be, as a load on the people's hate.

Cl. Yes, now thou would'st award to me exile from my country, the hate of the people and their loud curses to bear. Thou dost not join in laying that reproach against him who lies here, against him who, caring no more than for the death of a beast, though his fleecy herds had sheep enough, sacrificed his own child, the darling born of my pains, to charm the winds of Thrace. Is it not he whom thou should'st banish from Argive soil for his foul crime? No, it is in judgment of me that thou art an auditor severe! But I warn thee, threatening thus, to think that I am prepared, ready that he who conquers me in fair fight should rule me; but if fate intends the contrary, thou wilt be taught, too late, the lesson of prudence.

Eld. Thou art proud of thought, and presumptuous is thy note, for indeed the murderous stroke is maddening thee. The blood-fleck in thine eyes is right natural. For all this, thou shalt find thyself friendless and pay retaliatory stroke for stroke.

Cl. This also for thy hearing I solemnly swear. By the accomplished Justice for my child, by Doom and Revenge, to whom I offered this dead man up, my hope doth not set foot in the house of fear, so long as fire be kindled for the lighting of my hearths by Aegisthus, still devoted as ever to me.

For there, as our broad shield of confidence, lies, outraging his wife, my husband—the darling of each Chryseis in the Trojan camp!—and with him his captive, his augur², his oracle-monger mistress, who shared with him faithfully even the ship's bench and the canvas! But they did it not unpunished! For he lies as ye see, and she, having sung swan-like her last sad song of death, lies by him loveably, adding to the sweet of my triumph a spice of sex.

Eld. Ah, could some death come quick, which without agony, without pillowed watch, might bring to us endless sleep, now that our kindest protector is laid low, who having much endured for a woman's sin², hath by a woman lost his life!

Oh...Helen, who didst alone destroy that multitude, that great multitude of lives at Troy, now, for thy final crown, thou hast destroyed one, the stain of whose murder shall not be washed away! Surely there hath been in this house a hard-fought rivalry of fatal wives.

¹ The conjecture of Wieseler, ἀπέδике σ', ἀπέταμεν σ', should perhaps have been mentioned in the note, as a simple restoration of the syllabic correspondence.

But I think it injurious and (for reasons explained in Appendix II.) unnecessary.

² To be accurate, the word should be ambiguous between *woman* and *wife*.

Cl. Nay, pray not for death in indignation at this. Nor turn thine anger on Helen, as if alone in destruction she had destroyed that multitude of Argive lives and wrought incomparable woe.

Eld. Oh Curse, how hast thou fallen on Tantalus' house in either branch, and shared between two women a life-destroying victory for which my heart is sore! Lo, on the body, methinks, like a foul bird of prey he stands, boasting to celebrate a triumph lawful and just.

Oh...Helen, who didst alone etc.

Cl. Nay, now thou hast mended the judgment of thy lips, in that thou callest upon the fat-fed Curse of this race. For therefrom is bred this craving of the maw for blood to lick, ever new gore, ere the old woe be done.

Eld. Verily mighty he is and malignant, the Curse of this house, of whose never-sated cruelty thou dost, alas, so grievously testify. And oh, and oh, it cometh by Zeus, the cause of all, the doer of all! For what without Him is accomplished upon men? What of all this is not of divine appointment?

Oh king, oh king, how shall I weep for thee? Out of my heart's love what shall I say? And thou didst lie in this spider-web, dying by a wicked death, ah me, on this couch of slavery, struck down by a crafty arm with a weapon of double edge!

Cl. Darest thou say this deed was mine? Imagine not that I am Agamemnon's spouse. No, in the shape of this dead man's wife, the bitter fiend, long since provoked by Atreus the cruel feaster, hath made by this full-grown victim payment for those slain babes.

Eld. That thou art guiltless of this murder, who shall aver? It cannot, cannot be: though perchance the fiend of his sire might be thy helper. He riots in fresh streams of kindred blood, the red Man-slayer, drawn to the infant blood-spot of the child-flesh served for meat.

Oh king, oh king, how etc.

A Conspirator. His death, methinks, is not a death of slavery, nor—

Cl. And did he not then himself do a crafty crime against his house? Nay, for the thing he did to the blossom born of me and him, my long-wept Iphigenia, justice is done upon him! Let him not boast in Hades, for he hath paid, as he sinned, with death.

Eld. My mind is blank and I find no ready thought, which way to fly from the tottering house. The storm will strike it, I fear, and wreck it quite, the storm of blood. The rain is ceasing, yet Justice is but whetting once more on the whet-stone of hindrance her sword to punish again.

Oh earth, earth, would that thou hadst received me, before I had seen my lord laid thus low in the silver-sided bath! Who shall bury him? Who sing his dirge? Wilt thou dare to do it, thou, that hast slain thy husband, dare to lament his parted soul? The compensation will scarce atone the offence! But who will stand over the hero's grave and pour forth the tearful praise with heart that truly aches?

Cl. It belongs not to thee to regard this care. By us he fell, he died, and we will bury him, not with weeping of his household, no, but Iphigenia his daughter, as is fit, will meet her father with joy at the swift passage of the sorrowful ford, and fling her arms around him, and give him a kiss.

Eld. Thus is reproach answered with other reproach! 'Tis a hard case to judge. The spoiler spoiled, the slayer amerced! And it abides, while Zeus abides on his throne, that to him that doeth it shall be done: for lawful is it. Who can expel the cursed breed from the house? It is a kind that sticketh fast.

Oh earth, earth, would that etc.

Cl. Up to this death it hath truly followed prophecy, but I now am ready to swear a compact with the Fortune of the house of Pleisthenes, that we accept, hard though it be, what is done, if henceforth he will leave this house and harass with kin-murder some other race. A part of the wealth is not much to me who have it all, and moreover I am content if I but rid the palace of this internecine frenzy.

[*Enter AEGISTHUS* etc.]

Aegisthus. Hail, kindly dawn of the day that brings justice! This hour I will confess that from above earth gods look upon and avenge the woes of men, now that I see in a robe of the Furies' weaving this man lying as I would, and paying for what the hands of his father devised.

For Atreus, ruling in Argos, this man's father, being questioned in his sovereignty by Thyestes, who was (to make all clear) father to me and brother to Atreus himself, banished him from his house and from the country also. And Thyestes, having returned as a suppliant to the hearth, found, unhappy man, safety so far, that his life-blood was not shed upon his father's floor. But taking the very occasion of his arrival, Atreus, the impious father of this slain man, pretending, with eagerness little welcome to my father, to hold a glad day of festival, served him a banquet of his children's flesh. Of the extremities, the foot-parts and fingered hands, he put a mince on the top, sitting down with tables apart. And not knowing it at the moment for what it was, he took of the meat disguised, and ate of a meal, which, as thou seest,

his race have found unwholesome. And when he perceived the monstrous thing he had done, he shrieked and fell back vomiting the sacrifice, and called a terrible doom on the house of Pelops, aiding his imprecation by the spurning of the banquet, that thus might perish all the race of Pleisthenes.

This is the cause which has laid this man where ye may see. And it is a justice that I am the maker of this murder. Me whom, for my miserable sire's 'just third', he sent, a swaddled babe, into exile along with him, that justice hath brought back again as a man. Even from beyond the border I reached my victim, contriving and combining the whole hard plan. And now I can even die with honour, having seen him in the toils of this just revenge.

Eld. Aegisthus, I care not to insult distress; but dost thou confess unasked to be this man's slayer, the sole contriver of this pitiable murder? I say that thou before justice wilt not escape, be sure, 'the people's dangerous imprecation' of stones¹.

Aeg. Speakest thou so, thou, whose place is at the lower oar, while they of the deck are masters of the ship? Thine age will learn how grievous it is for one of thy years to be schooled in the dictate of prudence. Yet the pains of bonds and the pains of hunger are most surpassing mediciners to school the oldest mind. Doth not this sight warn thee? Kick not against the pricks, lest hitting thou hurt thyself.

Eld. (?) Thou woman! Thou, who abodest at home, helping to defile a brave man's bed! And shall then warriors fresh returned from battle—? It is a captain of soldiers whose death thou hast thus 'contrived'.

Aeg. These words again will prove the fathers of weeping. Thy tongue is the opposite of Orpheus': for whereas he drew all things along with the joy of his voice, thy soothing bark will provoke, till thyself art drawn along. But once mastered thou wilt prove tamer.

Eld. And shall I think that thou shalt be despot of the Argives, who, being the 'contriver' of the king's death, didst not dare to do the deed of murder thyself?

Aeg. The part of deceit fell manifestly to the wife: I, as a hereditary foe, was open to suspicion. In the wealth of the dead man I shall seek the means of control. On the disobedient subject I shall lay a heavy yoke, and give him, I warrant you, less than a racer's provender. Yes,

¹ The point here made upon ἀρά and πίπτειν is so far alien from modern English that no translation can fairly represent it.

hunger, which doth not mate peaceably with high spirit, will not leave him till he is mild.

Eld. Why then of thy cowardice didst thou not butcher the victim alone? Why, to the defilement of our country and our country's gods, join the wife with thee in the murder? Oh, doth Orestes haply live, that by grace of fortune he may return to this land and slay this pair victoriously?

Aeg. Nay then, if thou wilt so say and do, thou shalt have a lesson at once!

A Soldier of Aegisthus. Come on, comrades! Our work is not far off now.

Aeg. Come on! Make ready! Draw every man his sword!

Eld. Nay, I too, sword in hand, am prepared to die.

Soldier. 'To die!' An acceptable word! We take the moment.

Cl. Nay, dearest, let us do no more ill. What is done is much to reap, a bitter harvest. Begin pain with enough; but let us have no bloodshed. Go ye at once and confine these old men to their destined dwelling-place before they come to harm (?). What we arranged should have stood¹. And if we should find that enough has been inflicted, there we will stop, sore smitten as we have been by the heavy heel² of fate.

Aeg. And must they thus flaunt the folly of their tongues against me, and tempt fate with a fling of such high words?

Cl. And when they lose their senses, must he who is master of them do the like?

Eld. It is not the way in Argos to fawn upon a villain!

Aeg. Well, I will come up with thee one of these days yet.

Eld. Not if heaven guide Orestes back to the land.

Aeg. I know myself how exiles feed upon hopes.

Eld. Go on, make thee fat, and befoul the good cause, as thou canst.

Aeg. Be sure thou shalt make me amends for this kind insolence!

Eld. Brag, brag with boldness, like a cock beside his hen!

Cl. Care not for this idle barking. I and thou will make good order, being masters in this house.

¹ Taking ἀρκεῖν for καίρῳ.

² Modern English will hardly bear the Greek metaphor from the 'spur' of the

fighting cock. Aeschylus draws upon this pastime for poetry more than once.

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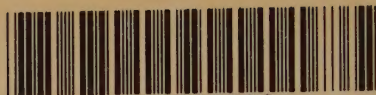
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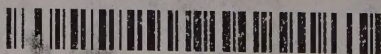
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